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ABSTRACT

This modified version of an unpublished doctoral dissertation examines empirically and experientially the process of becoming a policeman. Specifically, the study documents attitude changes reported by police recruits as they moved through the series of experiences and adventures associated with their early careers. Questionnaires were administered longitudinally and cross-sectionally to police officers in a large, urban police department. The questionnaires focused upon the motivation, commitment and satisfaction of patrolmen. Viewed through the "expectancy theory" perspective, these attitudes represent linkages by which people connect themselves to their employing organization. (Several pages may be light.) (Author/AG)

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"PLEDGING THE POLICE": A STUDY OF SELECTED ASPECTS OF RECRUIT SOCIALIZATION IN A LARGE, URBAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

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Technical Report No. 9

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INDIVIDUAL-ORGANIZATIONAL LINKAGES

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This report is a modified version of an unpublished doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Irvine. For the purposes here, the introductory chapters of the dissertation--dealing with a review of the relevant literature--have been deleted. For a more elaborate discussion of the theoretical concerns related to the organizational socialization process, the reader is referred to Technical Report No. 10, *"BREAKING-IN": A CONSIDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONAL SOCIALIZATION.*

References to the deleted chapters appear in the text of this report with underlined chapter numbers. All other chapter number references are to chapters of this report.

The appendices of the dissertation have also been removed. References to appendices in the text of this report are references to the appendices in the original dissertation.

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"A man's work is as good a clue as any to
the course of his life, his social being
and identity."

Everett C. Hughes (1958)
Preface

CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND RESEARCH AIMS

Chapter I attempted to describe briefly certain occupational and organizational considerations of the setting in which police work is conducted. On the other hand, Chapter I was devoted to an examination of the theoretical perspectives involved in the study of the socialization processes generally. The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad rationale for the attitudinal approach used in this study and to present the general questions to which the research was directed.

The police environment was depicted as bureaucratic, isolated and dominated -- especially at the lower levels -- by a strong subcultural ethos. The task itself was pictured as possessing an enormous amount of personal discretion resulting largely from amorphous and often conflicting objectives associated with policing an urban area. The patrol function was viewed as requiring individual officers to perform a wide variety of roles under, at best, conditions of loose supervision. Using a dramaturgic metaphor, Reiss (1971) summarized the multifaceted aspects of the patrolman's critical job. He stated:

> "Patrol work usually begins when a person moves onto a social stage with an unknown cast of characters. The settings, members of the cast and the plot are never quite the same from one time to the next. Yet, the patrolman must be prepared to act in all of them." (p. 3)

To date, most research efforts have been directed toward the delineation of the relationships among the police actors and their public (i.e.: non-police) audiences, or have concentrated upon the description of the actors, stage-setting and script which comprise the "on-stage" performance of the police drama. Little attention has been paid to the orientation of the performers to their particular roles viewed from a "backstage" perspective. Clearly, for any production to materialize there must be casting sessions, rehearsals, directors, stage-hands and -- most importantly -- some form(s) of compensation provided the actors which will insure the continued performance of the production. Essentially, this study represents an investigation into the formation and shape of police attitudes concerning the various "off-stage" attributes of the occupation.

Chapter I noted that little is known about the job-related attitudes of police officers. More specifically, less is known about the development of such attitude. Hence, an exploratory probe into this area has substantive value in and of itself. However, police officers are members of organizations which can be classified within a larger typology of structures. Consequently, data resulting from this study has relevance beyond the formal organizational boundry as it applies to issues related to personal change (or stability) in adulthood.

This chapter is organized into five main sections. The first, "Thinking, Feeling and Acting" considers the relationship between attitudes and behavior. The second section examines the specific theoretical perspectives involved in the examination of the motivational attitudes and delineates the research questions to which a portion of this study was directed. Similarly, the third and fourth sections discuss the theoretical concerns and present the research questions involved in the investigation of commitment and job-satisfaction attitudes. The last section summarizes the research interests involved in this study and lists the more general research questions to which the questionnaire portion of the investigation was directed.

A. Thinking, Feeling and Acting

The historical beginning of the concept of attitude have been traced by Allport (1935) to three main sources occurring before the turn of the century: (1) the findings of Lange and associates in 1888 in the area of experimental psychology: (2) the psychoanalytic emphasis upon individual differences: and (3) the sociological theories hypothesizing an association between attitudes and cultural or social influences. However, it was not until Thomas and Znaniecki (1918) published the Polish Peasant in Europe and America that the concept of attitude became a major variable in social science research -- although, by 1935, Allport was able to claim that attitudes were the most distinctive and indispensable concept involved in social science research. However, despite numerous definitions and redefinitions, the nature and characteristics of attitudes are still debated. In fact, Rokeach, in 1968, after an extensive review of attitude theory, concluded pessimistically:

> "...despite the central position of attitudes in social psychology and personality, the concept has been plagued with ambiguity." (p. 110)

To illustrate this persistent ambiguity revolving around the attitude concept, several definitions of attitude are presented below. These definitions are attributable to three of the most prolific researchers in this area:

> Kretch and Crutchfield (1948)
> "...an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perspectual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world." (p. 152)
>
> Sherif and Sherif (1969)
> "...the individual's set of categories for evaluating a domain of social stimuli which he has established as he learns about the domain and which relate him to subsets within the domain with varying degrees of positive and negative affect." (p. 336-337)
>
> Allport (1935)
> "...a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience and exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related." (p. 801)

Using Allport's definition, McGuire (1968) delineated five major areas of disagreement among the various theoretical perspectives related to the attitude concept. First, he noted that the psychological locality of attitudes was unclear. Second, there was disagreement as to whether attitudes should be defined as responses or predispositions to respond. Third, McGuire observed that there was ambiguity regarding the organization of attitudes. Fourth, theorists were ambivalent as to the extent to which attitudes are learned. Finally, he pointed out that there were opposing positions concerning the extent to which attitudes should be viewed as playing a "directive-knowledge or a dynamic-motivational function." (McGuire, 1968, p. 302)

Such dilemmas have caused many critics of the attitude concept to suggest that it be discarded (Doob, 1947; Blumer, 1955). Yet, as Porter and Lawler (1968) state:

> "Attitudes have traditionally been studied by psychologists because they can provide important insights into human cognitive processes and, ultimately because they can contribute to the understanding and prediction of human behavior." (p. 2)

Consequently, as Katz and Stotland (1959) argued, it appears that rather than doing away with the concept -- which has been shown to be related to behavior across a number of situations -- a more flexible attitude concept is necessary.

For the purpose of this study, attitudes are conceived to consist of all learned predispositions to respond to an object or class of objects (English and English, 1958). Furthermore, attitudes are viewed as consisting of a cognitive component (representing a person's knowledge of the object or class of objects -- "thinking"), an affective component (representing a person's emotional relationship toward the object or class of objects -- "feeling"), and a conative component (representing a person's behavioral tendency toward the object of class of objects -- "acting"). Hence, attitudes are conceived of here as simultaneously implying a person's belief, evaluation and predisposition to engage in some type of behavior toward some object or class of objects.

There has been continuing speculation on the issue of the "function of attitudes." Some researchers have emphasized the ego-defensive/irrational aspects of attitudes (Freud, 1930; Lasswell, 1930; Adorno et al., 1950). Others have noted the position function of attitudes which emphasized the purpose to the individual of holding certain attitudes. Katz (1960) advocated this latter perspective and argued persuasively that attitudes serve a variety of functions. Smith, Bruner and White (1956) have taken essentially the same position as Katz (1960), noting that attitudes are fundamentally abstractions which represent an attempt to understand and explain the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of individuals. Rokeach (1968) lucidly explains this approach via its implications for the individual. He states:

> "An attitude can be likened to a miniture theory in science, having similar functions and similar virtues and vices. An attitude, like a theory, is a frame-of-reference, saves time because it provides us a basis for induction and deduction, organizes knowledge and has implications for the real world, and changes in the face of new evidence." (p. 131)

Despite the lack of conceptual consistency among attitudinal theorists, research has proceeded at a rapid rate. Much effort has been exerted toward the area of attitude measurement. This expanding area of theoretical interest has revealed a number of sensitive issues. For example, Kiesler, Collins and Miller (1969) stated after an extensive literature review:

> "...despite the behavioral and theoretical pressure in the direction of a behaviorally defined attitude, attitudes are almost universally measured by paper-and-pencil or verbal report techniques." (p. 22)

However, despite the "universality" of questionnaires and interviews to measure attitudes, social scientists still retain a theory which specifies behavioral implications for attitudes.

While evidence of congruency between attitudes and behavior has been drawn largely from validations of attitude instruments, there have been indications which suggest some inconsistency between the two. Perhaps the most cited example of attitude-behavior inconsistency was LaPiere's (1934) research involving a Chinese couple who were discriminated against by restaurant owners. Yet, the fact that knowledge of attitudes in themselves does not effectively predict behavior, the work of researchers from diverse theoretical perspectives has shown the usefulness of attitudes conceived of as underlying predispositions -- which enter along with other influences into the calculus of behavior (Hovland, 1961; Sherif and Sherif, 1964; Kelman, 1966). Consequently, attitudes are useful for predicting behavior, but such forcasting usually lacks precision. Kiesler, Collins and Miller (1969) elaborated on this point. They stated:

> "...our notions that a particular attitude correlates with a particular behavior may be incorrect, not because of a general failure of attitudes to have any relationship to behavior, but because our intuitive notions about which attitudinal factors are correlated with which behavioral factors are incorrect."

In an attempt to specify more explicitly the relationships between attitudes and behaviors, attention has been directed toward the areas of attitude and behavioral change. A number of theories have been postulated. While there are areas of conflict among the various theories (e.g.: learning theory vs. congruency theory, or functional theory vs. perceptual theory, etc.), they tend to make the same predictions about attitude change and its association with behavior more often than not (McGuire, 1968).

The theoretical underpinnings of attitude change are based largely upon consistency theory. As mentioned in Chapter II, Newcomb (1958) summarized the field by noting that virtually all theories in the area postulate a basic "strain toward consistency." Zajonc (1960) illustrates succinctly the main assumptions involved in this perspective. He states:

> "...the concept of consistency underscores and presumes human rationality. It holds that behavior and attitudes are not only consistent to objective observers, but that individuals try to appear consistent to themselves." (p. 280)

Heider (1944) has been considered the originator of the idea of consistency. His theory predicts that individuals adjust their attitudes in order to keep them in maximum harmony with one another. Attitude change occurs when an individual in an unstable (or unbalanced) state -- holding conflicting attitudes -- adjusts his attitudes to reestablish a state of balance. Cartwright and Harary (1956) qualified Heider's approach and applied it to groups. Abelson and Rosenberg (1958) simplified the basic model, while others (e.g.: Feather, 1964; Newcomb, 1961; Osgood, 1960) presented variations of the original Heider model.

Related to the above perspectives used to explain attitude change is Festinger's (1957, 1964) more general theory of cognitive dissonance. Essentially, dissonance theory predicts a force toward symmetry among the cognitive, affective and behavioral elements of attitudes. These elements are defined as bits of knowledge, or opinions, or beliefs about one's self, about one's behavior and about one's situation. According to Festinger (1957), knowledge, beliefs and values organize themselves to meaningful ways and when a person experiences dissonance among elements which have been made salient (or mobilized) for the individual, a state of psychological tension is created. This state is uncomfortable to the person and he is motivated to reduce dissonance and achieve consonance by altering certain elements associated with the cognitive, affective or behavioral aspect of his attitude structure. The person experiencing dissonance not only is expected to reduce the associated tensions, but also is expected to avoid situations and information that tend to increase dissonance.

Basically, dissonance theory is in agreement with most theories of attitude change -- although some other theories are more refined and precise about predictions (also more limited in scope). Yet, at the bottom of all attitude theories one finds a general acceptance of the hedonistic principle of behavior. Katz (1960) best illustrates this commonality. He notes:

> "...people strive to maximize the rewards in their external environment and to minimize the penalties. The child develops favorable attitudes toward the objects in his world which are associated with the satisfaction of his needs and unfavorable attitudes to objects which thwart or punish him." (p. 171)

As the above indicates, there is an abundance of literature concerned with the generic topic of attitude. Yet, most of the literature discussed above was devoted primarily to theory development. Attention is now directed to the literature applicable more specifically to the topic of this research.

Without question, one of the most frequently examined topics in social science research has been the interaction between workers and the workplace. As pointed out in Chapter II, the importance of understanding this area of human behavior cannot be understated. Porter and Lawler (1968) remarked:

> "Work has always been and continues to be the major nonfamily activity that is undertaken by most human beings. For most people, their work is more than just eight hours out of their working life, it is a way of life that largely determines where they will live, with whom they will associate, and even what their children will become." (p. 1)

Furthermore, they noted:

> "Because of the centrality of work, it seems to be particularly appropriate that the study of the relationships between attitudes and performance focus on the work situation. Information gained from the work situation should be especially useful in understanding the attitude-behavior relationship elsewhere." (pp. 1-2)

Interest in the attitudes of workers and their relationship to behavior can be traced largely to the stimulus provided by the Hawthorne studies of the late 1930's (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939). Since this initial plunge into the area, most research has served to emphasize the importance of a person's attitudes about work and the workplace. In particular, the work of Lewin, Lippitt and White (1939) and Coch and French (1948) resulted in the legitimization of the study of employee attitudes and their relationship to human performance as an area of proper scientific endeavor.

A number of systematic reviews have pointed out the rapid growth of this research area (Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969; Vroom, 1964; Herzberg et al., 1957). While much of the early research tended to focus on nonmanagement personnel -- the line worker -- the focus has shifted gradually to include the job-attitudes of management personnel (Triandis, 1959a, b; Porter, 1961a, b, 1962, 1963; Vroom, 1965; Porter and Lawler, 1965, 1968). This relatively recent research area has considerable importance for it represents a concern with a different psychological environment from that of the factory worker.

In a survey of the literature, Vroom (1964) noted that most of the research involved with job attitudes has been directed toward such topics as morale, vocational interest, leadership and the work itself. However, he notes that a major problem in the area has been "circularity." By this accusation, Vroom meant that most investigations have placed too little emphasis upon the necessity of obtaining independent measurements in order to validate the various attitudinal concepts. Unfortunately, such criticism is valid today -- with the relevant literature exhibiting a tendency to pile one _ad hoc_ definition upon another and then using these operational definitions of attitudinal variables to validate one another. Consequently, one purpose of this research was to provide evidence for or against the usefulness of certain attitudinal constructs by examining their association with job behavior indicators obtained from independent sources.

Probably the most serious criticism of the work attitude literature revolves around the atheoretical nature of most of the research. In fact, Porter and Lawler (1968) refer to the area as "the dustbowl of empiricism." In general, while the number of empirically-based studies is quite large, such efforts have been almost devoid of theoretical speculation. The exceptions to this rule are conspicuous (Brayfield and Crockett, 1955; Herzberg _et al_., 1957; Triandis, 1959a, b; Vroom, 1964; Porter and Lawler, 1968). Commenting upon this gap, Porter and Lawler stated:

> "It is our view that only with a testable theory can substantial progress be made in understanding the relationships between attitudes and performance. Past experience indicates that the atheoretical approach produces at best a number of small isolated findings that do not fit together in any meaningful pattern, and thus, such findings provide little basis upon which to extrapolate to other situations." (p. 6)

As discussed previously, this study was devoted largely to the delineation of the job attitudes of police officers and it was hoped that these attitudes would be related to the on-the-job behavior of the officers. Furthermore, the selection of the attitude areas which were to be investigated was based upon certain developing theoretical perspectives associated with the hypothesized linkages between attitudes and behavior. While each particular attitudinal variable (motivation, commitment and satisfaction) was considered to be conceptually distinct, an underlying theoretical model provided the rubric by which attitudinal and behavioral variables were interconnected. This model is referred to as expectancy theory.

The roots of expectancy theory can be located in the work of Tolman (1932) and Lewin (1938). Essentially, the theory is a future-looking, ahistorical approach to explaining human behavior. It emphasizes a conception of behavior which relies upon a person's "expectations" or "anticipations" about the probability of certain events. In a sense, these expectations take the form of beliefs which relate the likelihood that a particular action will be followed by a particular outcome. Additionally, expectancy theory assumes that people have a preference ordering among outcomes. Hence, some outcomes may be viewed as negative and some outcomes as positive.

The work of Fishbein (1961, 1963) has contributed significantly to the development of expectancy theory. He proposed a theory of the relationships between beliefs about an object and the attitudes toward that object. Consistent with Osgood _et al._, (1957), attitudes are defined as the evaluative dimension of a concept (e.g.: whether the concept was good or bad).[1] Beliefs are defined as the probability dimension of a concept (e.g.: is the concept probable?). Fishbein (1963) outlines his theory as follows:

> "(1) an individual holds many beliefs about any given object, i.e.: many different characteristics, attributes, values, goals, and objects are positively or negatively associated with a given object, (2) associated with each of these related objects is a mediating evaluative response; i.e.: an attitude; (3) these evaluative responses summate; (4) through the mediation process, the summated evaluative response is associated with the attitude object, and thus (5) on future occasions the attitude object will elicit this summated evaluative response, i.e.: the attitude." (p. 233)

Consequently, according to the theory, an individual's attitude toward any concept is a function of his beliefs about that concept (i.e.: the probability that the concept is associated with other objects, concepts, or goals) and the evaluative aspect associated with those beliefs. Fishbein's formulation is very similar to consistency theories proposed by others (e.g.: Vroom, 1964; Atkinson, 1964; Rosenberg, 1960, 1956; Zajonac, 1960; Peak, 1955; Rotter, 1965, 1955, 1954; Edwards, 1954).

---

[1] As stated, Fishbein's use of the term "attitude" parallels the evaluative dimension associated with outcomes. In this study, the term "attitude" is defined more broadly and includes beliefs and behavioral predispositions, as well as evaluations.

In recent years, the usefulness of expectancy theory for understanding work behavior has been demonstrated. In simplified fashion, the theory as used in work-related research, postulates that the strength of the tendency for an individual to behave in a particular manner is a function of: (a) the degree to which he expects certain outcomes to result from the particular behavior, times (b) the attractiveness to him of the expected result. The theory is frequently summarized by the equation F = E x V (i.e.: Motivational force equals expectancy times valence). Since there are a number of potential outcomes related to any given action, most expectancy theorists sum the E x V factor across the total number of potential outcomes (n) and obtain an overall estimate of the strength of the tendency to act, this yields:

$$F = \sum_{i=1}^{n} E_i \times V_i$$

A number of studies have verified the ability of expectancy theory to predict successfully employee performance. One of the first studies to utilize an expectancy theory approach was Georgopulus, Malloney and Jones (1957). Hypothesizing that productivity was a function of "path-goal" perceptions (i.e.: instrumentality -- the belief that certain outcomes will result from certain behaviors) and level of need (i.e.: valence -- the attractiveness attached to a particular outcome, the researchers discovered that those subjects who were classified as high producers (by the use of self-reports) had significantly higher levels of instrumentality and valence than those subjects classified as low-producers. Similarly, Vroom (1964), Galbraith and Cummings (1967), Lawler (1966), Porter and Lawler (1967), Hackman and Porter (1968), Gurin and Gurin (1971) have found expectancy theory to be an effective and relevant guide for predicting human behavior in organizational settings.

Attention is now focused upon the attitude variables to which this research was directed. The primary objective was to obtain a substantial amount of descriptive data. As such, the study was decidedly non-hypotheses-testing in nature. The attitudes which were selected for examination were those which seemed especially significant for understanding the psychological environment of any particular organizational or occupational grouping. In the following discussion, a section is devoted to each attitude variable. The sections are divided basically into two parts -- the first part deals briefly with the theoretical issues involved in the definition and import of the variable and the second part delineates the set of research questions addressed to that variable.

B. Work Motivation

The above discussion described the origins and concerns of the theory underlying the particular conceptual model used in this study. In this research with its longitudinal emphasis, it was considered essential to have a dynamic model of motivation which allowed for attitudinal readjustments as a response to the work environment. Porter and Lawler (1968) developed such a model. Furthermore, the usefulness of their paradigm has been demonstrated in a number of other situations (e.g.: Lawler, 1968; Hackman and Porter, 1968; Porter and Boulian, 1971; Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon, 1972; Porter and Smith, 1971, etc.).

Essentially, the Porter-Lawler model suggests that an individual is motivated to work hard to the degree that he perceives high effort-outcome probabilities (i.e.: the extent to which the person believes that certain outcomes are associated with effort) and the degree to which he values the various outcomes available in the situation. Furthermore, the model postulates that the association between effort and performance is conditioned by both the individual's abilities and role perceptions.[2]

---

[2] Porter and Lawler refer to abilities as the relatively stable or enduring individual characteristics -- intelligence, manual dexterity, personality traits and so on. On the other hand, they use role perceptions to refer to the manner in which the individual defines his job -- the types of activities the person believes he should engage in to perform at a certain level. Hence, if the individual's perceptions are congruent with his relevant supervisors in the organization, his efforts will be applied where it "counts" for successful performance. These distinctions are used throughout the remainder of this report.

The variables -- beliefs, values, abilities, role perceptions and effort -- may be viewed fundamentally as "input" variables. They describe a set of attitudinal and behavioral characteristics which largely determine a person's success or failure in a particular setting. Of course, through time and experience the variables may be modified to reflect a more accurate perception of the work environment. However, such modifications are based upon the "output" variables which complete the hypothesized loop -- performance, rewards, equity of rewards and satisfaction.

The performance variable concerns the individual's level-of-achievement in the work situation. As such, it is that aspect of an employee's behavior that the organization (i.e.: as represented by one's supervisor, peers or subordinates) deems relevant for the accomplishment of organizational goals. Performance also has intrinsic value to the individual, implying that the person himself is capable and indeed does evaluate his own performance.

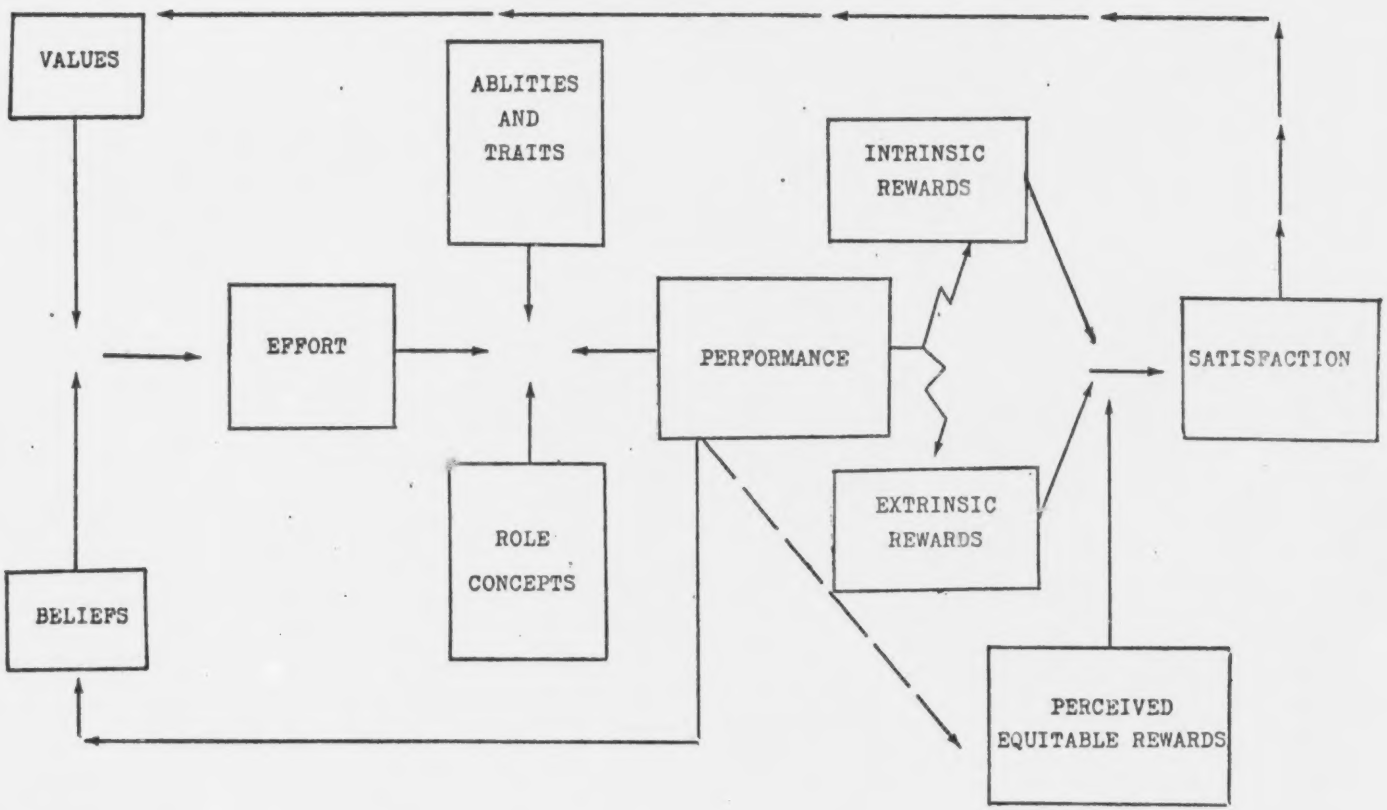
The outcome variable refers to the returns to the individual as a result of his performance. Such returns may be provided by a variety of sources -- himself included. While these returns may be desirable or undesirable, the position taken here is that those outcomes which the individual views as desirable (i.e.: rewards) are more important for predictive purposes since they are capable of directing behavior toward specific goals. Rewards in this paradigm are classified as either intrinsic or extrinsic. Intrinsic rewards are related to subjective states within the individual resulting from his own performance (e.g.: feelings of accomplishment, self-respect, etc.). On the other hand, extrinsic rewards are provided by others in the environment (e.g.: pay raises, compliments from one's superiors or work colleagues, etc.).

Associated with the rewards resulting from performance is a variable which represents the level or amount of rewards the individual feels he should receive. The perceived equity a person attaches to rewards coming from the various sources influences the degree of satisfaction the individual receives from his organizational membership. Hence, satisfaction is a derivative variable. It is defined here as the degree to which the amount of rewards the individual receives meets or exceeds the amount of rewards the person feels are fair. A further discussion of the satisfaction variable is presented in Section D of this chapter.

Figure 1-1 presents the above variables involved in the motivation model and diagrams the interrelationships which are believed to animate the paradigm. Yet, Figure 1-1 does not specify exactly how the value of reward and the effort-reward probability interact to produce effort. Consistent with the expectancy theory perspective, the view here is that the effect is multiplicative rather than additive. As Porter and Lawler indicated, "each variable is a necessary but not sufficient condition for effort to result."

FIGURE 1-1

PORTER-LAWLER THEORETICAL MODEL


VALUES
BELIEFS
EFFORT
ABLITIES AND TRAITS
ROLE CONCEPTS
PERFORMANCE
INTRINSIC REWARDS
EXTRINSIC REWARDS
PERCEIVED EQUITABLE REWARDS
SATISFACTION

Underlying the entire theoretical system is the assumed positive relationship between effort and performance. In other words, it is expected that in most cases, increased effort will lead to increased performance. However, since this relationship is conditioned by a multiplicative-type interaction between effort and both abilities and role perceptions, it is unlikely that the effort-performance relationship can ever be perfect.

The model also points out a hypothesized relationship between performance and reward. In work situations a desired outcome normally -- but not necessarily -- is associated with performance. The fact that the relationship is imperfect is denoted in Figure 1-1 by the wavy line. Indeed, the connection perceived by the individual between his performance and his rewards is crucial to the motivational model. However, in many organizations, "extrinsic" rewards are not tied to performance. For example, in some public service bureaucracies governed tightly by civil service regulations, there is little connection between the two variables. Yet, rewards may be "intrinsic" -- involving the person's feelings in relation to his task performance. Consequently, "intrinsic" rewards may be related to performance and the connection perceived by the individual depends primarily upon the nature and structure of the individual's task within the organization.

The relationship between the rewards-actually-received by the individual and the values placed on the particular rewards available in the work situation is at present only speculative. However, some empirically-based research suggests that the value component of the motivational equation remains relatively constant -- the few changes that have been detected were slow to evolve and occurred over the long-run organizational experience of the individual (Schein, 1961, 1962, 1965; Porter and Lawler, 1968; Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon, 1972).

A striking complimentary relationship between Brim's conceptualization of the socialization process and the above motivational theory also provides some insight on the empirical stability of the job-related rewards. Essentially, the argument is that since the values (i.e.: what individuals desire to get out of their jobs) and basic motives (i.e.: why people work) individuals bring with them to their jobs have been shown to be remarkably similar; and that the intrinsic rewards available in the work situation have been shown to be the most attractive[3] (providing the setting and task provide the potential for such "intrinsic" rewards); the reward factors are stable because they are associated with the individual's self-defining ("I-Me") relationships. Hence, such factors reflect cultural universals -- such as one's desire to satisfy the expectations of others -- which have been parcelled into more explicit norms like "getting along with one's fellow-workers" or "accomplishing something worthwhile." Since, such values (norms) were implanted relatively early in one's lifetime and are crucial to one's identity, it should be expected that little change -- at least in the short-run -- would occur to these values.[4]

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[3] Herzberg et al., 1957; Guest, 1960; Schein, 1963, 1967; Blauner, 1964; Dunnette, Avery and Banas, 1969; Berlew and Hall, 1966; Porter and Lawler, 1968.

In this study, the motivational attitudes of police officers were considered vital to the description of the "backstage" considerations involved in the police role. Consequently, the research first sought to characterize the motivational attitudes of police officers as they progressed from their initiation into the police role through various phases of the early police career -- as well as characterizing the motivational attitudes of veteran officers representing later stages of the police career. Second, the study attempted to provide information on the rewards available in the police milieu which were viewed as most attractive by both the neophytes and experienced officer. Third, since the occupant of the police role is called upon to play a variety of parts (e.g.: administrative, investigative, social service, etc.), this research endeavored to specify the activities that police actors felt were the most related to the various rewards.

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[4] However, as Brim noted, it is not impossible for one to drastically alter his self-definition -- although such occurrences are rare and can usually be traced to a "climatic or catastrophic" event (e.g., divorce, job changes, death of a loved one, etc.).

Finally, the investigation sought to differentiate the motivational attitudes of the police actors according to their respective standing on each of a number of job-behavior and demographic dimensions.

C. Organizational Commitment

The notion of commitment has been fashionable in organizational theory and research for a considerable time. It has been used -- often indiscriminately -- as a descriptive variable to denote a form of behavior, as an independent variable to account for certain kinds of individual (or group) behavior and as a dependent variable resulting from a variety of structural or independent characteristics. Yet, despite the popularity of the term, very little attention has been directed toward the formal analysis of the concept or toward locating the concept within the current theories concerned with individual behavior in organizational settings. With few exceptions, commitment has been employed in an *ad hoc* manner as a "catch-all" term and provided with a number of "common-sense" definitions. The result has been, predictably, wide-spread ambiguity concerning the concept's meaning, reference and its social and psychological origins.

In this study, the term organizational commitment was preferred to occupational commitment since it specifically identifies the object of commitment. Furthermore, it was perceived as an individual variable in that it refers to an attitude state. Broadly, the concept alludes to a problem shared by all collectives; how to meet objectives in such a manner that the participants become attached positively to the organization -- members who can be characterized as devoted, loyal, faithful, supportive, dedicated or loving. Although a great deal of effort has been directed toward this problem, researchers have exhibited a distinct lack of consensus when it comes to delineating the essential features of organizational commitment. Under various semantic guises (e.g.: loyalty, involvement, identification, institutionalization, etc.), the concept has been defined as:

> "the cathetic evaluative orientation of an actor to an object characterized in terms of intensity and direction."
>
> (Etzioni, 1961, p. 9)

> "the integration of the expectations of actors in a relevant interactive system of roles with a shared-normative pattern of values."
>
> (Parsons and Shills, 1962, p. 20)

> "a broad, inclusive, somewhat loose concept, embracing a number of various interrelated phenomena... especially perceptions of similarity with the organization, and attitudes and behavior supporting the organization and one's ties to it."
>
> (Patchen, 1970, p. 159)

> "A willingness of social actors to give their energy and loyalty to social systems, the attachment of personality systems to social relations which are seen as self-expressive."
>
> (Kanter, 1968, p. 499)

The common thread running through these definitions is that commitment implies a person gives something extra to the organization -- above and beyond that which is required for participation.

Furthermore, the definitions emphasize that commitment to the organization is a process. Hence, the concept refers to a sort of modus operandi by which individual interests become linked to the carrying out of organized patterns of behavior. As such, those persons who are committed to the organization will act in a consistent fashion -- rejecting behavioral alternatives that do not correspond to the norms and expectations of the organization. In other words, such individuals find that by behaving in a manner compatible with the organization's values, they are also expressing their own values. Porter and Smith (1970) provide the working definition of the term as used in this study. They state:

> "(Organizational Commitment) ... refers to the nature of an individual's relationship to an organization such that a highly committed person will indicate: (1) a strong desire to remain a member of the particular organization, (2) a willingness to exert high levels of effort on behalf of the organization, and (3) a definite belief in and acceptance of the values and goals of the organization." (p. 2)

As defined in this manner, it is apparent that the term is closely related to the motivational variable discussed previously. However, highly motivated individuals are assumed to work hard mainly because of the rewards perceived to result from their effort. On the other hand, persons highly committed to the organization are assumed to work hard not only because of the rewards available in the setting, but also because they share the goals and values of the organization itself -- in effect, such highly committed persons desire to contribute to the success of the organization for reasons in addition to personal gain. Such individuals will tend to express feelings of oneness with the organization and behave in a manner which will be perceived as fulfilling simultaneously both organizational and individual goals.

Recalling the brief discussion of Kelman's (1958) paradigm concerning the processes in which people may adopt organizationally relevant behaviors, the above distinction between motivation and commitment may be further refined. Compliance was viewed as a condition under which the individual accepted organizational influence solely because it enabled him to gain specific rewards. This state can be typified as one in which the individual is motivated, but not committed to the organization -- since his basis for participation is unrelated to the social system's goals, the individual would be likely to leave the organization if he perceived more rewards available to him in an alternative setting. Identification refers to the condition under which an individual's participation is based upon his desire to be accepted by a group or individual within the organization. This situation implies that the individual is motivated strictly by the rewards of fellowship -- however, his commitment is limited to the individual or group which provide the person with a satisfying or self-defining -- relationship. Finally, internalization represents the state in which participation is based upon an acceptance of the ideas and behaviors which comprise the individual's role in the organization. Consequently, it may be inferred that the individual is both motivated and committed to the organization when his basis for participation has been internalized.

While Kelman's analysis is admittedly an oversimplification of the types of linkages between the organization and the individual, it does suggest that organizational commitment refers to the underlying mechanisms which bind a person to a social system. Along these lines, Simon et al. (1950) noted that commitment to the organization may be based upon policies, values and goals, or be based upon interpersonal attachments. Similarly, Coleman (1957) noted that there is a distinction between the "idea-oriented" and the "group-oriented" forms of commitment. This point is particularly important for organizational analysis since it suggests that if the basis for participation is in some way changed (e.g.: goals altered or certain key individuals leave the organization), the formerly-committed member may resign or withdraw from the organization.

The existing literature concerned with organizational commitment has been confined largely to the examination of two rather specialized types of employees -- low-level industrial workers and highly-trained professionals.[5] In the case of the blue-collar employees, researchers have found that they often exhibit positive feelings toward the company in spite of certain omnipresent alienating task features of their work environment (Guest, 1960; Blauner, 1964). While workers may not have been committed to their employing organization in the sense in which it has been defined here, it has also been demonstrated that rank-and-file workers who express strong attachment and positive feelings toward their union were not necessarily uncommitted to their respective companies (Purcell, 1954; Lipset _et al_. 1956; Coleman, 1964). Similarly, research which has been conducted with scientists and other professionals has indicated that a "dual alligence" is not uncommon (Kornhauser, 1962; Glaser, 1964, Wilensky, 1964).

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[5] It should be noted that several recent studies conducted by Porter and associates somewhat offsets this bias in the literature. Chapters II and V discuss briefly some of these studies.

Essentially, for both types of employees, the question of commitment revolves around the "situational adjustment" of individuals to their organizational setting. From a sociological perspective, a person who joins an organization is emmersed immediately in an environment where various groups -- both inside and outside the organization -- compete for his loyalty. To the individual, the problem is one of selecting a role model from among the available alternatives which will be useful for him as a sort of behavioral guide. For lack of a better term, reference group is used here to signify this choice. It is an audience -- real, shared or imagined -- to whom the individual assigns certain values. Hence, the individual adopts the frame-of-reference attributed to his reference group as a mechanism for defining and interpreting his particular organizational role. Yet, as Shibutani (1962) suggested, for each person there are as many possible reference groups as there are channels of communication the person regularly uses. Clearly, the individual's selection of a reference group (or several reference groups) has important consequences involving the development of organizational commitment. At the extremes, one may choose a reference group which either does or does not embrace the values of the employing organization.

Following Merton's (1957) classic analysis of community leaders, Gouldner (1957a, b) postulated that organizations -- particularly professional organizations -- are populated by a mix of two types of employees. At one polar position of an idealized continuum is the "cosmopolitan" who is more committed to his specialized role (i.e.: his "profession") than he is to the organization itself. At the other polar position is the "local" who is more committed to the organization than he is to his specialized role. For the "cosmopolitan," his reference group is located outside the organization which may make attempts to bind the individual to the organizational values frustrating. On the other hand, the "local," by definition, has selected the organization as his reference group and clearly supports its values and norms.

Related intimately to Gouldner's (1957a, b) typology is the distinction between manifest and latent roles. For the purpose of this discussion, manifest roles refer to those behaviors which the organization considers necessary, indeed crucial, if an individual is to participate in the organization. Latent roles, however, rarely are fully recognized by the organization and therefore are considered irrelevant. It should be noted that there is no necessary conflict between the two. In fact, in some organizations both roles may be mutually reinforcing. However, there exists evidence which indicates that the individual's latent roles may clash with his organizationally-defined manifest roles and produce a set of problems for both the individual and the organization (Gouldner, 1957a, b; Blau and Scott, 1962; Glaser, 1964; Kornhauser, 1962; Peltz and Andrews, 1966; Abramson, 1966). For example, Burchard (1954) found that military chaplains felt torn between the cross-pressures of professional and organizational norms regarding their choice of a "proper" role.

Attempting to deal with this sometimes confusing issue, Becker and Greer (1966) have noted that latent roles will rarely affect the individual's organizational behavior unless they are in some way mobilized or made salient. In other words, latent roles are often not in conflict with the manifest roles. Thus, the "local-cosmopolitan" question need not be resolved in an "either-or" fashion. A number of studies have questioned the inevitability of the inverse relationship of "locals-to-cosmopolitans" (Bennis *et al*., 1957; Wilensky, 1964; Glaser, 1964; Avery, 1968). In many cases, the individual learns to adjust both to the organizational demands and the demands of his outside reference group. Avery (1968) found that through a process he labelled "enculturation," professional scientists were able to transform themselves into industrial researchers by connecting their technical competence to that of the organization in a manner which was mutually satisfactory.

Importantly, organizational commitment should not be viewed as a prerequisite or necessary condition for one's effectual participation in an organization. Certainly, a person may engage in a career(s) -- perhaps very successfully -- without ever being committed to his employing organization(s). Furthermore, organizations vary widely as to the extent of commitment demanded of their members. Up to this point, the implicit assumption has been that the person's important reference groups (regarding his job attitudes and behaviors) are tied intimately to his occupational or organizational roles. However, some evidence suggests that this may not always be the case. For example, Dubin (1956) inferred that for three out of four industrial workers (surveyed via an attitude questionnaire), the workplace was not a "central life interest." In a later study, Tausky and Dubin (1965) claimed that career perspectives were "anchored" to positions established independently of the organization. To explain the consistency of work behavior, Dubin (1956) argued persuasively that for many workers, adequate social behavior occurs in the workplace because it was mandatory, not because it was important to him or because he perceived a similarity of values between himself and his employing organization.

Turning to the subject of this study, it is apparent that occupational commitment (i.e.: "Police work") is a large component of organizational commitment (i.e.: "Department X") within the police environment -- one must first join an organization which, in turn, locates him within the police community generally. Without organizational membership, however, a person is not part of the police occupation. To some degree, one would expect any police officer to exhibit some commitment to his calling regardless of his commitment to the specific police department for which he works. Hence, in the police world, occupational commitment probably represents a baseline for the development of any organizational commitment. In other words, if one does not display some degree of attachment to his occupation (i.e.: a desire to continue in his role and a basic belief in the occupational values), the term organizational commitment is indeed meaningless in the context of the police organization since police work is essentially the same task regardless of one's department -- especially at the patrolman level. Thus, for the purpose of this study, organizational commitment implies some degree of occupational commitment. Yet, while the dividing line between the two is particularly nebulous in this case, the use of the term organizational commitment assumes that one may or may not express positive feelings toward his employing organization independently of his feelings toward the police role.

As noted, one of the main thrusts of this study was directed to the development and change of police officers organizational commitment attitudes during their early career experience. Hence, the first purpose of this portion of the research effort was to measure the degree to which individuals, who were attracted to and selected for the police role, expressed positive feelings toward their employing organization -- and to determine whether or not any changes occur over time. The second objective was to compare these attitudes with the organizational commitment attitudes of officers with more organizational experience. Third, since police organizations have been typified so generally as stressing group solidarity or cohesion (especially at the patrolman level), it was deemed important to determine if such solidarity was associated with organizational commitment.[6] The fourth objective was to determine whether or not there was a relationship between job behavior and organizational commitment. In other words, were the highly-committed members perceived by their superiors as better police officers than their lower-committed counterparts. Finally, it was considered important to ascertain the extent to which an individual's organizational commitment was related to each of a number of demographic characteristics.

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[6] As will be discussed in the following chapter, there existed a series of related studies on this variable which permitted a direct comparison of findings.

These considerations -- or questions -- were felt to be congruent with the "backstage" metaphor used to describe the overall objective of the research. The perspective taken here is that organizational commitment provides the perceptual linkage between the police actor and his supporting departmental cast.

D. Job Satisfaction

The foregoing discussion has identified two major variables (motivation and commitment) which were investigated in this study. Generally, these variables provide the basic individual imputs into the organizational system -- the motivational attitudes specify the degree to which individuals express a desire to work hard in order to gain the rewards of organizational membership; the commitment attitudes suggest the degree to which individuals are willing to contribute to the organization beyond that which is required for membership. Conceptually, by investigating the major individual "output" variable -- satisfaction -- closure of the theoretical system is presumably obtained.

Returning to the Porter and Lawler (1968) model presented earlier, satisfaction was defined as the extent to which the rewards-actually-received (both intrinsic and extrinsic) meet or exceed the perceived equitable level of rewards. The model indicates that satisfaction is perceived as a dependent variable and not a casual variable -- although this assumption certainly does not exclude the possibility that an individual's feelings of satisfaction can in turn influence future effort and performance.

As indicated, satisfaction as it is used here, is a derivative variable. Thus, high satisfaction may not necessarily result from high levels of reward. Depending upon the difference between one's perceived equitable rewards and the rewards perceived to have been actually obtained in the setting, an individual may be located anywhere on a dissatisfied-to-satisfied continuum (see Porter and Lawler, 1968, pp. 36-38).

In general, the relationship between effort and satisfaction would be expected to be weaker than that of performance and satisfaction since organizations most often claim to reward performance rather than effort. However, if the organization in fact does reward effort as much as -- or possibly more than -- performance, a weaker effort-satisfaction relationship would not be expected.

As Figure 1-1 illustrated, satisfaction was perceived to affect the individual's behavior via its effect upon the value of the various rewards in the system. Yet, the nature of the affect -- whether satisfaction increases or decreases the value of the rewards -- remains open to conjecture. It was noted in Section B that some research suggested that the values remain relatively stable. For example, a study conducted by Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon (1972) found that the values a sample of newly-hired engineers attached to various outcomes (i.e.: rewards) available in the job-situation remained remarkably constant across a twelve-month measurement period. To explain this finding, the authors stated:

> "Such stability, of course, is not suprising and is in fact expected in most employment situations. This is because it can be assumed that the values that employees attach to outcomes are ordinarily well formed outside of and prior to entering the work situation. This is not to say that such values could not be altered under unusual circumstances, but rather that under fairly normal employment conditions ... values attached to outcomes would be relatively unaffected by the day-to-day happenings in an organization." (p. 16)

This particular conception of job satisfaction utilized for this study seems to fit the available research literature quite well. While most researchers in the 30's and 40's held to the tacit assumption that effective job performance was enhanced by high worker satisfaction, the more recent studies have shattered conclusively the earlier supposition. In fact, virtually all systematic statements since 1955 have concluded that there is no compelling evidence to indicate a simple or even appreciable relationship exists between satisfaction and performance (Brayfield and Crockett, 1955;

Herzberg et al., 1957; Vroom, 1964; Smith and Cranney, 1968; Smith et al., 1969).[7]

Most research to date has emphasized the "intrinsic" job factors as the most important determinants of job satisfaction -- those factors pertaining to the work itself (Guest, 1960; Schein, 1962, 1963, 1968b; Locke, 1965; Porter and Lawler, 1968, etc.). This position is summarized effectively by Korman (1968). He states:

> "All things being equal, individuals will choose, adjust their behavior to, and, find satisfying, those behavioral roles which will maximize their sense of cognitive balance or consistency. This implies that individuals will tend to find most satisfying those job and task roles which are consistent with their self-cognitions." (p. 485)

Yet, all things are rarely equal, hence, qualifications are necessary when discussing job satisfaction. It is clear that some tasks simply do not have the potential for supplying the individual with rewarding "intrinsic" experiences. Roy (1960) observed that on certain jobs, the "game of work" could not be played, the task being far too dull. Consequently, in some situations, "extrinsic" considerations (e.g.: the work group, pay, supervision, security, etc.) account for individual satisfaction. As Centers and Bugental (1966) pointed out, members at higher organizational levels are usually afforded tasks which are richer and more "intrinsically" rewarding than members at lower levels.

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[7] Some evidence, however, does exist which would support a relationship between satisfaction and both absenteeism and turnover. Essentially, several studies note a trend for the more satisfied worker to be less likely to quit or play hookey than their less satisfied counterparts. Intuitively, both these measures appear to reflect a somewhat higher level of worker motivation -- for whatever purpose -- on the part of the more satisfied individuals. Yet, apparently, such effort was only partially (and inconsequentially) related to performance in these cases (Brayfield and Crockett, 1955; Vroom, 1964).

Vroom (1964) has noted that both "intrinsic" and "extrinsic" considerations enter into the satisfaction equation on most jobs. Yet, these variables do not among themselves explain much of the observed job satisfaction variance. He notes that while one alternative theory is that the relationship depends strictly on the individual (i.e.: some people like to work and others don't), it is probably the case that the interaction between the person and the job accounts for the complexity of the findings (i.e.: some people like some jobs). Although this contention has been somewhat neglected in the literature, it has received some support (Porter, 1961; Vroom, 1966; Schein, 1967; Hall, Schneider and Nygren, 1967a, b; Vroom and Deci, 1971).

The position taken in this study is that under certain conditions, job satisfaction may indeed be related to job performance. Vroom's (1964) conclusion is especially relevant in this context. He stated:

> "...job satisfaction is closely affected by the amount of rewards that people derive from their jobs and that level of performance is closely affected by the basis for attainment of rewards. Individuals are satisfied with their jobs to the

> extent to which their jobs provide them with what they desire, and they perform effectively in them to the extent that effective performance leads to the attainment of what they desire."
> (p. 264)

Hence, one objective of this study was to determine the extent to which these conditions did or did not exist in the studied police department.

The conception of job satisfaction utilized in this study depends heavily upon Maslow's (1954) theory concerning need prepotency. Essentially, a need refers to the individual's desire or aversion for a large class of outcomes. Each class of outcomes consists of elements representing preferences -- the affective orientation of an individual to a specific outcome. Hence, a need connotes a preference for a class of outcomes consisting of any number of specific potential outcomes.

Underlying Maslow's (1954) theory are five basic human needs arranged hypothetically in hierarchical fashion according to their relative prepotency -- security, social, esteem, autonomy and self-actualization. Basically, these five needs may be classified into higher-order (esteem, autonomy and self-actualization) and lower-order (security and social) needs. Generally, higher-order needs reflect the "intrinsic" aspects of work roles, while the lower-level needs reflect "extrinsic" aspects. According to the theory, there should be substantial individual differences in the strength of the higher-order needs and the differences should be positively related to the degree to which the lower-level needs have been satisfied. Maslow felt that only when the lower-level needs were satisfied would the higher-level needs emerge; however, when the lower-order needs have not been satisfied, the higher-order needs will be inactive.

A number of studies have confirmed the usefulness of using Maslow's paradigm. In general, the degree to which individuals are able to satisfy higher-order needs (e.g.: opportunity to use one's valued abilities, feelings of self-esteem, opportunity to participate in the setting of goals, etc.) has been shown to vary inversely with the intensity of other deprivations experienced by the individual (Vroom, 1964; Davis, 1948; Pellegrin and Coates, 1957). For example, one study found that perceived differences in need satisfaction have been related to job-level in a direction consistent with Maslow's model. The results of this study showed: (1) vertical level of an individual's position within management had a strong relationship to the extent of the perceived satisfaction of the higher-order needs; (2) for the lower-order needs there were no systematic differences in satisfaction across job level; and (3) among the five need categories, self-actualization and autonomy were consistantly regarded as the least fulfilled need at all job levels (Porter, 1962).

More importantly, research conducted to date -- primarily with management personnel -- indicates that if performance is in any way related to job satisfaction, it is more likely that such relationships are associated with the satisfaction of the higher-order needs than with the lower-level needs (Porter and Lawler, 1968). In a study concentrating upon police officers -- whose working environment has been characterized as particularly varied -- there exist ample opportunities to satisfy higher-order needs (e.g.: autonomy in decision making, etc.), as well as lower-level needs (e.g.: security, etc.). Furthermore, since "extrinsic" rewards are noticeably tied to job-features having little to do with an officer's performance (i.e.: seniority), the intrinsic rewards of police work may become relatively more important vis-a-vis one's expressed job satisfaction. In other words, there may be a greater opportunity for the individual officer to feel differentially "intrinsically" rewarded rather than "differentially "extrinsically" rewarded -- although "extrinsic" rewards are provided for all organizational members at some minimal level.

Regarding this particular attitude area, the main intent of the research was merely to provide a mapping of the police officer's satisfaction attitudes. As noted, satisfaction was considered to be a function of both the individual's perceived level of fulfillment and his perceived equity of such fulfillment for each of five need categories. Hence, the absolute level and the changes reported in each of the satisfaction components were of interest. Additionally, it was deemed relevant that an indication of the importance of each need be determined in order to more fully understand the relationship involved in the question, "what do police officers want from their jobs?"

Again, the emphasis was upon the longitudinal feature of this study. As with the other two attitudinal areas, interest was also placed upon determining the extent to which the satisfaction attitudes were associated with the job-behavior measures, the demographic variables and the other attitude variables. Finally, comparative data were used to contrast the need satisfaction attitudes of the police officers with other occupational groupings.

To conclude this section, it should again be stressed that the fundamental premise throughout this research has been that the "backstage" considerations of the police role -- as reflected by their work-related attitudes -- are important determinants of their "on-stage" performance. The conceptual material presented in this chapter attempted to provide a set of expectations concerning the relationships among the variables. The theory is grounded upon current empirical evidence and believed to be based solidly on psychological and sociological theory. Thus, the task here was to determine the extent to which such expectations were met and to note the implications of such findings upon police behavior, the police organization and ultimately the citizenry.

Summary

The preceding discussion indicates that the research effort focused upon the police officer's perceptions of three distinct aspects of their relationship with the organization -- motivation, commitment and satisfaction. As will be detailed more explicitly in the following chapter, each of these three attitudinal areas was examined by use of a questionnaire administered longitudinally to the recruits and administered cross-sectionally to veteran officers. The longitudinal emphasis is particularly important since the literature provides little in the way of directly applicable findings. It appears that the most important deficiency in the relevant research to date is not the fact that police organizations have rarely been examined, but rather that job-attitudes have not been studied on a developmental basis. In 1957, Herzberg and his associates stated:

> "There are no studies which focus on changes in job attitudes during the first year of job tenure." (p. 12)

Unfortunately, with only a handful of exceptions, this conclusion is still applicable today.[8] As pointed out in the previous chapter, this represents a serious liability to the field of organizational theory since the first-year of work is viewed as such a critical period. Hence, it would seem that this research is particularly useful in gaining a greater comprehension of the employee-organization relationships.

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[8] A search of the literature since 1957 revealed only a few studies that could remotely be considered of this type. For example, see: Lortie, 1959; Becker et al., 1961; Schein, 1961, 1962, 1967; Glaser, 1964; Berlew and Hall, 1966; Davis, 1968; Lawler, 1969; Porter et al., 1972

As noted, the research was considered to be primarily exploratory. The main goal was simply to provide a description of the perceived environmental milieu reported by the police officers. However, independent judgments were collected on the police subject's job behavior which allowed for the analysis of potential relationships among the attitudinal and behavioral measures. Furthermore, since data was available on three attitudinal areas, it was possible to compare the course of each attitudinal area across time with that of the other areas. Additionally, an analysis of the potential associations among the attitudinal, behavioral and demographic variables across time was conducted. This particular concern was perceived as especially important since it provides some serviceable empirical evidence as to the relative effect -- over time -- of the job upon the attitudes of the police officers toward their unique social system. Finally, since several of the questionnaires were standardized, comparisons were made with samples selected from other occupational groupings. The main concerns are summarized below in the form of research questions.

> 1. What are the job-related attitudes of police officers when they first encounter the department and in what manner do these attitudes change as the recruits pass through their formal academy training and their early experiences "on-the-street?" Relatedly, how do these attitudes compare with the more experienced officers in the department?
>
> 2. To what degree are the job-related attitudes of the police recruits and veteran officers associated with independent assessments of their job behavior?

3. To what extent are the job-related attitudes of the police recruits and veteran officers associated with their standing on some general background characteristics?

4. How do the job-related attitudes of the police recruits and veteran officers compare with job-related attitudes of individuals representing other occupational groupings?

Although these questions represent the main thrust of the research, certain other questions were unavoidably involved in the research effort (e.g.: to what degree do the attitudinal variables relate to each other?, etc.). However, these additional research questions were: (1) logical derivatives (i.e.: subsets) of the four-above questions; (2) aimed expressly at the clarification of various methodological issues; or (3) limited in scope and designed to provide supplemental information related to the attitude model (e.g.: level-of-aspiration, role perception). These questions will be raised and, hopefully, answered satisfactorily in appropriate locations throughout the remainder of this document.[9]

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[9] While the purpose of this research was not to test explicitly the validity of the theoretical model, most of the topics considered in this chapter will be confronted again in Chapters IV and V when the implications of the data analysis are discussed.

"If Socretes were alive and curious, he would immediately become anathema to most police agencies, particularly the larger ones. Police regard the critical questioner as ignorant, malicious or subversive -- period."

A. C. Germann (1971)
p. 9

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The major concern of this chapter is to describe briefly the methodological details of this study: certain situational considerations, the characteristics of the sample population, the specific instruments utilized in the survey and the methods used in obtaining and analyzing the data. However, before approaching these issues, a brief discussion is included which focuses upon the multiple methods built into the design and emphasizes the rationale behind the various aspects of this exploratory study.

A. Rationale of Methodology

As noted in Chapter I, the dearth of scholarly research concerned specifically with police organizations was a major motivating factor for undertaking this study. Due to the paucity of research in this area, it appeared logical that an extensive exploratory field study -- directed toward the investigation of the relationships among several variables -- was warranted. The research was designed to allow for a wide variety of data-collection techniques to be used in examining various aspects of recruit socialization in a police organization. Although the data reported in this document come predominantly from a longitudinal questionnaire survey, other methods were utilized to supplement the basic survey data.

Among possible supplementary data-collection techniques, sustained participant-observation was considered to be the most likely data source to provide insight into the research problem (Seltiz _et al._, 1959; Scott, 1965; McGrath, 1966). Hence, a large portion of the study was devoted to the observation of novice policemen _in situ_. Fortunately, this researcher was able to become a fully-participating member of one of the Union City Police Academy recruit classes. In other words, I was able to experience the entire 13-week training phase as a "green-pea" (a new recruit to the police department without any job experience "on-the-street").

At the outset of the experiential phase, it was decided that my role as an organizational scientist would not be disguised. Essentially, to masquerade as a "regular" police recruit would not only have been exceedingly difficult and laborious (especially given the inquisitive nature of the police occupation itself), but would have raised a number of knotty ethical questions as well. Further, a disguised role would have necessitated turning over the administrative operations of the study to the participating police agency. Since it was extremely important to minimize the fears or anxieties the subjects may have held (regarding confidentiality and

and the use or misuse of the data), it was felt this could be accomplished only if I assumed the administrative duties -- sending and collecting the questionnaires.

There is obviously a question as to the effect the identification of the researcher-as-researcher has on the quality and accuracy of the observations within the Department. However, by virtue of the length of the observation period (approximately seven months) and the continuous nature of personal contact, such effects hopefully were minimized.[1] Although it cannot be stated categorically that the presence of the researcher had no "Hawthorne effect" upon the behavior of the subjects, I felt I was accepted completely as a group member in my particular Police Academy class and that little or no behavior was altered explicitly. This feeling is further reinforced by the fact all recruits were strangers to one another on the first day of training and both group feelings (solidarity, comradeship, etc.) and individual friendships were developed mutually. Also, the nature of the recruit training was arduous and demanding and the same principles of the "shared-ordeal" which tended to bind the recruit class together during the training period were operative on the researcher as an identifiable member of the class (Lortie, 1968).

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[1] The importance of continuous observation and full participation as an aid for minimizing distortions and behavioral change on the part of the subjects has been strikingly demonstrated by a number of social scientists. For example, see Whyte, 1960; Dalton, 1959; Becker, 1963; Gans, 1968; Greer, 1968; Hammond (Ed.), 1964.

Following the training phase of the recruit initiation process, I adopted the role of a "modified" participant-observer. Approximately two-months were spent as a "backseat" observer in patrol units comprised of a recruit and his FTO. (Field Training Officer responsible for inputing "street-sense" into the neophyte). During this period, the purpose of the observation phase was primarily to gain insight into the complex informal mechanisms of recruit socialization. Unfortunately, at this stage of the research the presence of an "outsider" may very well have influenced the behavior of the police subjects. Yet, the position of friendship and trust I felt had been established with the recruit member of the partnership (developed and nurtured during Basic Training) seemed to alleviate much of the hostility and suspicion the veteran FTO may have toward the "outsider" and toward his "being observed".

The data collected by this "experiental" technique was recorded in an extensive personal journal. While it is not the purpose of this report to detail the findings of the above phase, a limited amount of the data will be used for illustrative aims in the following chapters -- particularly in Chapter IV. In general, merely the organizational rapport generated by my becoming an active participant in the on-going system justified the effort. Yet, the major contribution of this method of research was the inmeasurable gain of intimate knowledge concerning the day-to-day behavior of policemen. Further, the experience proved an invaluable aid in the analysis of the quantitative data.

In addition to the above phenomenological approach, both formally and informally structured interviews were administered to a wide variety of subjects. Ranging from the high-echelon members of the Department (the "brass") to the patrolman on the beat, the interviews were designed to illuminate specific concerns of the research. The interviews concentrated upon: the selection and training of local police officers, promotional opportunities for organizational members, various sources of intrinsic and extrinsic rewards for local police officers, problems newly recruited officers have in adjusting to the demands of the occupation, various organizational uncertainties involved in police work, and so on. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with many subjects outside the formal umbrella of the organization. These subjects included officers who had resigned from the Department (both voluntarily and involuntarily) and with various individuals assumed to have some measure of expertise regarding local police issues (e.g.: members of the local press, representatives of the local ACLU chapter, members of the Human Rights Commission, etc.). Although a great deal of the data cannot be assimilated and reported in this document, such data have proven to be helpful in this researcher's understanding of the policeman's occupational and organizational milieu.

The findings to be reported in the following chapters are primarily the results of a questionnaire survey administered to line officers in a large, urban police department. The reliance upon this type of data rather than the interview or ethnographic data was determined largely by the convenience and standardization afforded the questionnaire approach.

In choosing the attitude areas to be examined, care was taken to select variables that have demonstrated relationships with an individual's job performance in past studies. These attitude areas are presumed to be associated with job performance across tasks, occupations and organizations.

The selection of what type of measures of job performance (i.e.: job behavior) to use was a more difficult problem. Given the unique and socially important nature of the policeman's duties, ratings which are based solely on organizational criteria are not completely satisfactory. Furthermore, police departments are sorely lacking in adequate criteria for the purpose of evaluating the performance of individual members -- particularly those members least visible, the patrolmen. Additionally, the criteria used by the superior in evaluating the job performance of his subordinates may be unrelated to what the community standards are regarding job performance (e.g.: number of arrests, miles logged, number of traffic tickets, vs. "keeping the peace").

However, given these explicit limitations, it was decided to focus upon the Sergeant's rating of a patrolman as an indicator of patrolman performance. Departmental ratings were not made available, so an instrument was designed to elicit these performance ratings. Despite the restrictions of such an approach, it was felt that regardless of the "true" performance of the patrolman, vis-a-vis the citizenry, it was of sufficient import to seek to establish relationships between the patrolman's attitudinal and demographic characteristics and the organizational assessment of his performance (as provided by the appropriate Sergeant). The preceding chapters suggested that the relevant determinants of police behavior are, to a large extent, internal, job-related factors -- such as reward mechanisms, organizational sanctions, peer pressures and so on. Thus, the selection of the job performance measure was consistent with the "backstage" viewpoint taken in this study.

The descriptive nature of this research concentrates heavily upon the various aspects of the recruit socialization process. As such, a longitudinal study was deemed to be the best method for investigating recruit changes-over-time.[2] In this case, a longitudinal study refers to the administration of questionnaires to the same subjects at two or more points in time.

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[2] For a more elaborate discussion of the merits of panel studies, see: Rosenberg, Thielens and Lazarsfeld, 1951; Peltz and Andrews, 1964, Yee and Gage, 1968; Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, 1962.

Some cross-sectional data were utilized. Basic to the concerns of this study was the attempt to obtain as broad a picture of the occupational perspectives of the patrolman as possible. Since the majority of patrolmen are not "rookies," cross-sectional data -- based on the same instruments administered to the recruit groups -- were obtained for patrolman with 2, 5, and 10 years of experience on the force. The cross-sectional approach was justified from the standpoint that it was likely for groups with longer seniority and greater experience to have a more stable attitude profile than the recruit groups. These more experienced officers had already been socialized into the policeman's occupational world and it was improbable that they would demonstrate much variability over the relatively short duration of the study.

Since the data in this study came exclusively from a single organization, problems of generalization are encountered. Fortunately, several of the measuring instruments used in this study have also been used in other studies. Although the samples of the various studies are not drawn from the same underlying population, comparisons between results obtained in the various studies may provide important baseline information as well as highlighting areas in which the police sample significantly diverges from previous findings.

Hopefully, the above discussion makes clear the reliance upon the questionnaire data for the reported results of this study. The other data-collection techniques were viewed as helpful means for providing "insight-stimulating" experiences as well as providing a useful check on the survey data. Such cross-validation serves a necessary and important role in the research process. While it is beyond the scope of this report to document fully the data gained in the participant-observation and interview phases of the research, such data will be used to illustrate and support various questionnaire findings when appropriate.

The reader may properly question the impact of this researcher's ubiquitous presence on the subjects' responses to the survey materials. While this question cannot be answered in an entirely satisfying manner, it is felt due to the non-threatening nature of the instruments and the emphasis placed upon confidentiality, the "outside-investigator" influence was minimized. It could of course be argued that members of such a secretive and cohesive occupation would respond to the questionnaires in only a socially-desirable style, thus placing the organization in the best possible light. However, if this were true, it would seem that it would operate in only one direction -- one of accentuating the positive and eliminating the negative. Hence, a conservative interpretation of the results would hold that the data represented the attitudes of policemen viewing their Department at its best. However, while the responses may not reflect the most cynical beliefs of police officers, I believe most of the responses are typical of the organizationally-relevant attitudes which were expressed verbally to the researcher during the course of the study.

Finally, some consideration must be given to the ethical issues involved in the research. Most of these issues revolve around the participant-observation phase of the study. As noted, I spent a considerable amount of time as a "backseat" observer on routine patrol. This raises questions concerning my influence vis-a-vis citizen-suspect-prisoner contacts the patrolmen had while under observation. However, it was difficult to imagine that patrolmen would treat their contacts more harshly or with less regard to their civil rights because of my presence in their patrol unit. At the same time, it was also difficult to imagine that patrolmen would be less competent or have less concern for the quality of their performance while in my presence. Hence, it was unlikely that the "outsider" influenced either the severity of police behavior or the effectiveness of police performance.

A further concern involves the amount of assistance a participant-observer should provide the patrolmen in the performance of their work activities. Unfortunately, there are no simple answers to this question. My behavior varied according to my own personal standards and the particular contextual setting. For example, I would assist patrolmen with their paperwork, aid in the interviewing of witnesses at the scene of a traffic accident, or help the officers "cool down" a family disturbance. On the other hand, I did not allow myself to be instrumental on a narcotics "pinch," nor be used as an accomplice of the police on, say, a prostitution raid. Predictably, the vast majority of time was spent observing the routine activities of patrolmen -- service calls -- and simply riding throughout the city conversing with the officers.

Perhaps a more serious ethical consideration concerns the researcher's responsibility to the many patrolmen who were observed. As noted by virtually all serious social scientists concerned with police behavior, the police do engage in illegal activities. I found illegal conduct among patrolmen to be infrequent, but nonetheless present. However, the major interest was not the behavior of a single patrolman per se, but with his behavior as it relates to a more general police behavior pattern. During this research, behavior was observed which might result in the official reprimand of a patrolman by his superior or result in sanctions imposed by the community-at-large. Yet, as a researcher committed to the protection of the integrity of his subjects, the identity of any patrolman involved in the study shall remain confidential.

Following the same line of reasoning, the name of the community in which this study was conducted has been kept anonymous. The pseudonym "Union City" will be used to refer to the actual community where the research was undertaken. Although some readers may identify Union City due to certain undisguisable characteristics, the purpose is not to bare details of self-incriminating conduct. The main reason for anonymity is to emphasize the objective of this study. The goal is not to analyze police work-attitudes and conditions in one specific department, rather, the goal is to accentuate the data as they apply to police organizations generally.

The remainder of this chapter describes certain contextual difficulties and methodological procedures involved in this study. Section B presents a distilled discussion of certain historical events which occurred during the course of this research. Section C outlines the questionnaire study design and summarizes the demographic characteristics of the sample. Sections D and E outline the attitude questionnaires and the job performance measures respectively. Finally, Section F specifies the methods involved in the analysis of the data. The interested reader is referred to Appendices A through D for a detailed examination of the setting, the studied police organization and the explicit sample characteristics.

B. Historical Context

This study took place in a large, urban municipality between May and December, 1970. Union City is the economic and geographical center for a sprawling metropolitan area populated by more than one million persons.

The Union City Police Department employs well over one thousand uniformed personnel, of which, over eighty-percent are patrolmen.

At the time of this study, the overall "style" of policing in Union City could best be regarded, using the term coined by Wilson (1968), as approaching the "legalistic" style. The Union City Department can be characterized as one which was stressing increasingly the importance of the command structure in order to maximize the police administrator's control of the patrolman's behavior. The organizational context values technical efficiency and pressures the officers to produce.[3] Research and Planning was a growing Division and the number of specialized divisions was increasing. Citizen complaints were handled formally and the Department had created a specialized Division to conduct the investigations in 1969. In most ways, the Department fits the "legalistic" category.

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[3] The "production ethic" was very apparent in Union City. For example, all patrol officers assigned to a motorized unit were required to write at least one traffic citation per shift--only the so-called "hazardous" violations counted toward an officer's quota. On many occasions, this researcher observed Sergeants enforcing this quota by checking their subordinates weekly total of traffic citations.

Wilson (1968) considered the pressure to produce indicative of a "legalistic" department. He noted:

> "Because he has an unambiguous performance measure, the police administrator can obtain almost any level of ticketing he wishes without necessarily altering the way the police conceive their function, as when ticketing is delegated to a specialized traffic enforcement unit. A legalistic department will typically go beyond this however, and put all patrolmen, not just traffic specialists, under some pressure to produce." (p. 174)
> (Cont. next page)

However, lurking in the not too distant past, was the Department's history as a "watchman" style police force. As recent Grand Jury testimony indicated, the police in Union City had, for years, tolerated gambling and generally had encouraged the privatization of the law. Professional goals were not accentuated and many situations which called for police attention were ignored. However, as Wilson pointed out, the present "legalistic" style may have been an unavoidable consequence which grew out of community dissatisfaction with

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The enforced "quota" system for traffic tickets in Union City was reported to be instituted relatively recently. Most officers with more than two years experience on the force, remembered a time when patrol officers were not required to issue a set number of traffic citations.

Wilson also notes the tendency for "legalistic" police departments to make more arrests in law enforcement situations (those situations where it is clear that a law has been violated, e.g., larceny) than "watchman" style departments. He also states that "watchman" style departments are more likely to arrest in order-maintenance situations (those situations in which a law must be interpreted and standards of "right" conduct determined, e.g., disorderly conduct). If these hypotheses are true (and he presents impressive data to support them), then one would expect the arrest rates of Union City to reflect the postulated shift in emphasis -- from the "watchman" style to the "legalistic" style. A simple comparison between the 1960 and 1969 arrest rates (per 100,000 residents) does, indeed, reflect the trend toward the legalistic style of policing.

	1960	1969
Larceny	114.4	206.4
Disorderly Conduct	340.0	92.9

(Source: Union City Police Department Annual Reports (1960 and 1969))

For a further discussion of these characteristics, see Chapter 8 in Wilson (1968) pp. 227-277.

the "watchman" style of policing. Wilson stated:

> "The administration of these (legalistic) departments wants high arrest rates and ticketing rates not only because it is right, but also to reduce the prospect (or the suspicion) of corruption, to protect themselves against criticism that they are not doing their job or are deciding for themselves what laws are good or bad, and to achieve, by means of the law, certain larger social objectives. Almost invariably a legalistic department was once a corrupt or favor-doing department." (p. 180)

As discussed in Chapter I, there is a growing tendency in most cities to "professionalize" the police -- reflected, in part, by a move toward the legalistic style of policing. Hence, in certain respects, the generalizable nature of the findings of this study is enhanced. This, however, is not to say that local peculiarities are non-existent, but, rather to indicate that the Union City Police Department is representative of many other large departments in the United States.

Before describing the study design some mention must be made concerning certain uncontrollable circumstances encountered during the data-collection phase of the research. As in all organizational field studies, both external and internal events can seriously impair the generalizability of the findings. In the case of this study, several significant occurrences bear comment.

In virtually all major police departments, the day-to-day working environment can best be described as turbulent. Increasingly, police work is carried out in the throes of controversy. Union City is no exception. From the beginning of the study to the final day spent in the field, Union City's Police Department was a focal point for the local news media -- also attracting a considerable amount of national attention. Yet, most of the external events are common to all police departments and, while not routine, are considered by most policemen to be unavoidable aspects of the job -- headline crimes, citizen protests, allegations of police brutality, police homicide, etc. As such, they require no further discussion. However, during the course of this study, the Union City Police Department became immersed in one of the most sensational public disclosures of police misconduct to surface in recent years. The effects of the disclosures upon the operations and personnel of the Department were extensive. For example, when the research effort was begun, the Department was headed by a popular Acting Chief-of-Police who was expected soon to be named the permanent Chief. Yet, when the data-collection phase was complete, the Department was headed by its fourth Chief-of-Police in seven months.

The ostensible cause of the internal chaos was a Grand Jury investigation into an alleged payoff system operative between members of the Union City Police Department and various downtown business establishments. During a brief mid-summer period, a Grand Jury handed down criminal indictments against a number of Union City policemen. Several of the officers were eventually sentenced to serve jail terms -- including an ex-Chief-of-Police.

Testimony indicated that the payoff system had historical roots going as far back as thirty years. Although the disclosures did not occur until 1970, the payoff system was believed to have been effectively terminated in 1968. The head of a special Task Force charged with investigating the implications of the Grand Jury testimony noted:

> "The Task Force found no evidence of payoff activity during the past two years. The grafting action ceased in 1968 ... no vestige of it remains." (Local newspaper story, Sept. 18, 1970)

As a result of the "scandal" testimony, two high ranking police officials from outside the Department were installed sequentially as interim Chiefs-of-Police. During this two-month period, a "blue ribbon" Mayor's committee searched for a permanent Chief-of-Police. The search culminated in the late-summer appointment of a new--and presumably -- permanent Chief-of-Police. The permanent Chief was selected from outside the ranks of the Union City Police Department.

The effect of the scandal reports appearing in the local headlines upon the job-related attitudes of the officers is difficult to assess. One police official stated at the height of the publicity:

> "The Union City cop is in a quandary. He's obviously set back, personally and in image. This is a trying time of confusion and uncertainty, but I honestly feel the man on the beat knows he has a job to do today, just as he did when he signed up. He should be used to adversity by now." (Local newspaper story, July 28, 1970).

In the wake of the investigations, several controversial orders were issued by both interim Chiefs of Police which may have had major affects upon the attitudes of the officers. Policemen were ordered to refrain from accepting any gratuities -- including the symbolic free-cup-of-coffee. All policemen were required, under threat of dismissal, to submit to a polygraph examination.[4] Even the shift rotation was temporarily halted. Other orders were issued which attempted to break up traditional patterns of everyday activity within the Department -- coffee machines were removed from the main assembly room, wall calendars were ordered to be removed, weight-control was initiated, etc. One popular officer was suspended for three-days for using the word "nigger" over the police radio -- a somewhat common occurrence prior to the arrival of the first interim Chief. Additionally, several changes were made in the structural arrangements of the Department, along with many personnel transfers.

Finally, after two-months of Departmental disruption, the newly-appointed permanent Chief of Police arrived and took command. With his appointment, the Department began to reestablish a degree of stability, although most of the revised policies remained in effect. One of the new Chief's first official actions was to reassure the men that "there will be no new changes forthcoming." And, several weeks after the change of command, the special Task Force investigating the Department was disbanded officially.

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[4] The polygraph order was later ruled unconstitutional by a District Court. Hence, the order was never implemented. Interestingly, the Union City Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Association led the fight against the order.

The total impact of the summer's events upon the recruit attitudes was probably modified by the subjects' lack of experience in the Department. Also, many of the subjects were in the relative isolation of the Training Academy during the Departmental oscillation. However, a cursory examination of the data indicated that in some areas the historical occurrences cannot be ignored. In fact, the consideration of the "history-effects" became an additional feature of this study.

C. Sample

1. Longitudinal Study Design -- Recruits

Four regularly scheduled recruit classes (termed Basic Training Classes by the Department) were selected for the longitudinal portion of this study. All recruits in each of the four classes received questionnaire packets on the first administration -- a total of 136 recruits.

Each recruit group represented a different stage in the formal socialization process. Originally, the study was designed to approximate a modified version of Solomon's (1949) four-group approach. However, certain unpredictable circumstances intervened to prevent this more rigorous design. For example: training policies were altered after the research was initiated; training facilities became overcrowded and one group was prevented from following its planned training sequence; maintenance of "goodwill" between the researcher and the Department required that certain changes be made in the study design; various administrative duties involved in the research had to be simplified in order to complete all phases of the study; availability of recruit-subjects demanded modifications in the design etc. However, since the major research problem -- access -- had already been solved, the operational difficulties were considered to be of minor importance. Furthermore, the study was exploratory in nature and, as such, sophisticated research design could hardly be regarded as an inflexible condition.

Due to these confounding circumstances, each of the four groups had a different departmental history at each administration period. In other words, each group had a somewhat unique training pattern compared to the other recruit groups in the sample. Table 2-1 summarizes the training sequence for each group. The sequence column is in chronological order from top-to-bottom starting with the group with the most experience.

TABLE 2-1

TRAINING SEQUENCE

GROUP NUMBER	LENGTH	SEQUENCE FOLLOWED
I	18-weeks	6-weeks in Academy (classroom instruction) 6-weeks in FTO program ("street" experience) 6-weeks in Academy
II*	18-weeks	6-weeks in Academy 6-weeks in FTO program 6-weeks in Academy
III	22-weeks	6-weeks in Academy 10-weeks in FTO program 6-weeks in Academy
IV	24-weeks	12-weeks in Academy 12-weeks in FTO program

* Group II represents the "interdisciplinary" recruit class (see Appendix 3)

After completing the Basic Training course outlined in Table 2-1, most recruits were assigned to the Patrol Division and delegated a specific district, sector and beat. At this stage, the recruits were usually given the opportunity to select a permanent patrol partner.[5] They were also assigned to one of five shifts. The shift assignments were normally rotated once every three months.

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[5] Many of the partnerships formed just after Basic Training continue for years. These long-standing partnerships are generally respected by the Department and are not dissolved arbitrarily. The termination of a lengthy partnership usually occurs when one member is either promoted to Sergeant or transferred (on request) out of the Patrol Division.

The importance of the partner relationship is revealed in the following quote from a training officer charged with teaching patrol practices.

> "In this profession, the biggest asset a cop has is his partner. You rely on each other for everything, including your life. If you've got a good partner, your work will show it. It makes all the difference in the world how you get along with your partner. For example, you can tell when guys aren't getting along by just counting the number of arrests or tickets they're making. In fact, most guys know their partner better than they know their wife." (quoted from a training class lecture, July 29, 1970)

Table 2-2 presents the basic survey design according to administration number (1 through 5) and according to the length of Departmental experience for each of the recruit groups (0 months through 9 months). To the left of the group designation is the date of the first administration -- the remaining questionnaires for each group were administered on the same date in each of the four following months. For example, Group I subjects received questionnaires on the following dates: June 10; July 10, August 10; September 10; and October 10, 1970.

TABLE 2-2

BASIC SURVEY DESIGN

			Months in Department										
Date (1st Adm.)	Group		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
June 10	I	Adm. No.						1	2	3	4	5	
June 10	II					1	2	3	4	5			
June 10	III				1	2	3	4	5				
July 20	IV		1	2	3	4	5						

Table 2-3 summarizes each group's training sequence and locates the group at each administration period according to its training position.[6]

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[6] Basic Training in the Union City Police Department is considered to include all Academy instruction plus the FTO portion of training. In addition, each recruit serves a formal probationary period of one year -- measured from a recruit's hiring date. During the crucial probationary period, an officer may be dismissed for any reason and is without the right of a formal review.

TABLE 2-3

TRAINING LOCATION PER ADMINISTRATION PERIOD

Group		Administration Number 1	2	3	4	5
I	Location in Training	S	S	S	S	S
III		A_2	A_2	S	S	S
III		FTO	FTO	A_2	A_2	S
IV		A_1	A_1	A_1	FTO	FTO

where:

A_1: Academy without FTO experience

A_2: Academy with FTO experience

FTO: "Street" training with Field Training Officer

S: Regular "street" officer with own beat and partner

TABLE 2-4

RESPONSE RATES

GROUP		NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	ADMINISTRATION NUMBER				
			1	2	3	4	5
I	Percentage Response	41	73%	60%	56%	33%	31%
II		16	100%	94%	69%	75%	63%
III		39	93%	80%	100%	88%	76%
IV		40	100%	85%	83%	78%	62%
		Total Number of Subjects	136	134	133	133	131
		Total Returned	90%	78%	80%	68%	57%

The attrition in the sample is due almost entirely to individuals leaving the study but remaining in the organization. As Table 2-4 shows, only five subjects left the Department during the study period. For various indeterminable reasons, a number of subjects dropped out of the study. An attempt was made in the analysis to determine if there were any systematic attitude or demographic differences between the group of subjects who remained in the study and the group of subjects who quit the study.

The small number of subjects in Group II results from the "interdisciplinary" characteristic of that recruit class. As denoted in Appendix B, members of that particular Academy class were selected from various police agencies within the general geographical areas surrounding Union City. In total, the class numbered 27 recruits -- 16 recruits from the Union City Police Department.

study.[7] The items appeared at regular intervals during the study period and again stressed the confidentiality of the responses. The bulletin announcements were believed to have helped reassure the subjects that the Department was indeed cooperating with the research effort and considered the study of some importance.

The response rates were somewhat disappointing -- notably from the group most advanced in the socialization process.[8] Table 2-4 displays the response rate at each administration period and indicates the number of potential respondents for the sum of the subjects in the four groups at each period.

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[7] The General Information Bulletin is distributed approximately three times per week and is generally read by most everyone in the Department. Its purpose is to keep the officers aware of policy changes, personnel shifts, social events and so on.

[8] This researcher was able to distribute questionnaires personally on at least two occasions to Groups II, III and IV. As noted, these administrations occurred while the particular groups were undergoing classroom instruction at the Police Academy. At the time this study was undertaken, Group I had just been assigned to "street" duty and personal contact was impossible. Presumably, this lack of face-to-face contact made the research effort appear more remote to members of Group I and may have been a large contributing factor in the dismal response rate for the group.

Most of the questionnaire packets were distributed to the recruit sample via Departmental mail. Each recruit also received an addressed envelope in which to return the questionnaire directly to the researcher. However, if the subject was located in the Academy phase of training (A_1 or A_2), the questionnaire packet was distributed to the subject during a class period. The subjects were instructed to take the packet home, fill-out the questionnaires and return the completed questionnaires to the Academy where they would be collected by this researcher. In most cases, the questionnaires were returned to the researcher within four or five days from the time of distribution.

Each set of questionnaires was accompanied by a letter from the researcher requesting each subject's cooperation in the study. However, it was pointed out to the subjects that their participation was voluntary and, in no way, would the Department (or the researcher) pressure them to cooperate. The letter also stressed that the information supplied by the subject would be held strictly confidential and no one in the Police Department would ever see anyone's individual responses.

In addition, several items were placed in the General Information Bulletin urging the participation of all subjects included in the study.

In the last section, reference was made to the publicity surrounding the Grand Jury investigations, the interim Chiefs of Police, and the major policy revisions that occurred during this study. Table 2-5 presents the sequence of the major events according to the administration period and length of experience for each group.

TABLE 2-5

RELEVANT HISTORY DURING RESEARCH

MONTHS IN ORGANIZATION

GROUP	Adm. No.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I							1 A B	2 C	3 D E	4	5
II					1 A B	2 C	3 D E	4	5		
III				1 A B	2 C	3 D E	4	5			
IV		A B 1 C	2 D E	3	4	5					

where:
A: Grand Jury findings made public
B: First Interim Chief-of-Police named
C: Major policy revisions
D: Second Interim Chief-of-Police named
E: Permanent Chief-of-Police named

2. Demographic Summary -- Recruits

A detailed description of each examined demographic characteristic is presented in Appendix C. This background information is not displayed here primarily because of a persistent pattern of non-association with the attitude dimensions studied in this research

(See Chapter IV). However, from the reported recruit characteristics, a coarse profile of the Union City recruit can be constructed. The following is a generalized representation of the "typical" recruit.

The Union City "green pea" is about 24 years old, in good physical condition and presumably has an unblemished personal history regarding his relations with societal "authorities" (i.e.: disciplinary officials representing the school, military, community and so on). He is married (probably with at least one child) and considers Union City or one of the surrounding communities to be his hometown. Overwhelmingly, the "average" recruit is white.

There is a positive likelihood that he has attended college, although it is doubtful that he has made much progress toward a degree. If he has gone to college, his major would have probably been police science or one of the social sciences.

The "typical" recruit's family background is middle-class, however, most of his work experience has been in occupations distinctly below the middle-class level and required little in the way of supervisory-type duties. If he has performed leadership functions, it is likely that such experience resulted from his enlistment in one of the armed services -- probably the army. In the service, the "average" recruit advanced several ranks and, with an approximate probability of one-third, endured a tour-of-duty in a combat zone. Significantly, he joined the Department shortly after being discharged from the military.

For most recruits, the first day at the police training Academy represents their initial experience as a member of the police world. However, there is a 25% chance that a recruit has previously been exposed to the occupation -- either as a military policeman, a police cadet, or a police officer in another city.

Following Basic Training, the "average" recruit is assigned to the busy central precinct in the Patrol Division. Generally, he prefers this assignment in light of the limited intradepartmental opportunities for transfers at this stage of his career. However, he is desirous of "making-rank" via the civil service system and within ten years expects to be promoted to, at least, Sergeant.

The above description is admittedly a rough characterization, but it does portray the conventional nature of the Union City police recruit. Without question, the "average" Union City police recruit has conformed to the norms of this society and appears far more similar to police recruits from other departments than he is dissimilar (See Appendix C for comparative data). If anything, the Union City Police Department appears to be attracting a slightly better recruit than other departments -- from the perspective of the police professed "profession" ideal which stresses education, class background and the acceptance of the civil service promotional ladder as a career choice.

3. Cross Sectional Study Design -- Experienced Officers

Three groups of experienced police officers characterizing different stages of the police officer career were selected for the cross-sectional portion of this study. The groups were designated V, VI and VII and the members of each group had approximately two, five and ten years of experience with the Union City Police Department respectively.

Each group represented several police academy classes selected from a particular time period. For example, subjects in Group V all passed through recruit school approximately two years prior to the study.[9] Subjects were selected in this manner because of the availability of the Training Division records.

The response rates for the three groups were disappointing. However, it was expected that the participation of the older, more experienced police officers would be more difficult to obtain than the participation of the newly recruited officers. Table 2-6 presents the sample size and the response rates for each of the three groups.

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[9] Each group represented all the officers who were trained in a particular one-year period. For example, the subjects selected in Group VII were all trained (Basic Training) between Jan. 5 and Dec. 9, 1959. Hence, each subject had at least 10 1/2 years of experience at the time of this study.

TABLE 2-6

RESPONSE RATES -- EXPERIENCED OFFICERS

GROUP	YEARS OF EXPERIENCE	QUESTIONNAIRES MAILED	QUESTIONNAIRES RETURNED	%
V	2	57	35	61%
VI	5	50	25	50%
VII	10	44	21	48%
	TOTAL	151	81	54%

As the table indicates, the likelihood of a subject participating in the study decreases as the subject's experience with the Department increases. Although it cannot be tested explicitly, it is probable that the more experienced an officer, the more suspicious and distrusting the officer toward the questioning by an "outsider" -- a manifestation of the presumed "caste" characteristic discussed previously. Two correlates of the hypothesized hostility to an outsider would certainly be caution and avoidance. Unfortunately, it was impossible to collect data which would have allowed for the determination of any significant differences (attitudinal or demographic) between those experienced officers who did and did not participate in the study.

As noted, Group V subjects all had approximately two years experience on the force. They all held the rank of "police officer" (N=35) and most were assigned to a particular precinct within the

Patrol Division. Group VI subjects (five-years experience, N=25) were also predominantly "police officers" (92%), although only 24% were assigned to the Patrol Division. Group VII subjects (ten-years experience, N=21) consisted of 67% "police officers" and 33% sergeants. Approximately 20% of the subjects in Group VII were assigned to the Patrol Division.

The noticeably different rank distribution in Group VII resulted from the greater tendency of sergeants to participate in the study. While only 19% (N=44) of the original questionnaire packets were mailed to sergeants in Group VII, 87.5% of these sergeants returned questionnaires. On the other hand, only 37% of the "police officers" in Group VII returned their questionnaire packets. Overall, in both Group's VI and VII, 82% of the sergeants participated in the study (9 of 11), while only 51% of the "police officers" participated (72 of 140). While the major objective of this study was to examine the attitudes of patrolmen, it was necessary to include the small percentage of ranking officers (11%, N=81). This was due to the small sample size of the experienced officer groups. Unfortunately, with only 9 officers representing the sergeant's rank, it was impossible to test meaningfully for demographic or attitudinal differences between the "police officers" and the sergeants.[10]

All experienced subjects were sent a questionnaire packet via Departmental mail in early October, 1971 -- well after the installation of the permanent Chief-of-Police. As with the recruit sample, each subject received an addressed envelope in which to return the questionnaires directly to the researcher. The majority of the subjects returned the completed packet within one or two weeks after the original mailing.

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[10] It is likely that subjects in the two ranks (sergeants and police officers) are very similar. Seven of the nine participating sergeants were assigned to the Patrol Division where their duties closely resemble those of the police officers. Sergeants still ride patrol and are subject to much of the same internal and external pressures as the patrolmen. Furthermore, the Police Guild explicitly recognizes the similarities of interest between the two adjoining positions. For example, only sergeants and police officers are allowed to join the Guild. When a member is promoted to lieutenant, his membership is cancelled. Essentially, a rank of lieutenant and above is considered to be a management position, while the sergeant rank is considered to be part of the rank-and-file. Like most foremen in industrial settings, sergeants are believed to be more similar to their subordinates than they are to their superiors.

Additionally, a cursory examination of the sergeant's attitudinal responses did not show any systematic variation from the police officer subjects -- for the appropriate sample groups. This was true for the demographic data also.

Finally, this approach is consistent with the scarce police-related research in the literature. Watson and Sterling (1969) grouped patrol sergeants with patrol officers. Administrators were considered to include only those officers who rank at the level of lieutenant or above. Wilson (1967) used police sergeants as subjects in his study of police officer morale. Generally, most researchers in this area have concluded that the differences in perspective between police officers and sergeants are very slight indeed.

Appendix D presents the distributions for each demographic characteristic. As with the recruit sample, it was possible to construct a rough profile of the "average" veteran officer. Following below is a crude representation of the experienced officer.

4. Demographic Summary -- Veteran Officers

The "typical" experienced officer in the Union City Police Department is white, married and has several children. However, there is some evidence indicating that his marital situation becomes less stable as he progresses through his police career. For structural reasons, the "average" experienced police officer began his Union City career at an older age than his counterpart joining the Department today. Interestingly, the veteran officer is more likely to have attended college than a new recruit, although the possession of a four-year degree is rare for recruits and experienced officers alike. Again, if an experienced officer has attended college, it is probable that he majored in police science.

The family background of the experienced officer is very similar to the "average" recruit -- predominately middle-class. However, the experienced officer is more likely to have worked in a higher-status occupation prior to joining the force than a new recruit. Yet, his prior occupational experience was still likely to have been below the status of a police officer. Compared to the new recruits, there is less of a chance that the experienced officer had the opportunity to engage in police work prior to his joining the Union City Department.

There is a high probability that the experienced officer served in the military. However, it was unlikely that he was able to advance to the Sergeant's rank (E-5) or beyond.

Generally, the experienced officer will have spent several years in the Patrol Division assigned to one of the three precincts. Yet, it is very unlikely that he will have remained in the Patrol Division for much longer than five years. By his fifth year on the force, the "average" officer will have transferred from Patrol to a more specialized Division or assignment. As with the recruits, the veterans are desirous of advancing in rank through the civil service promotional system.

D. Attitude Measures

The objective of this section is to describe briefly the various attitudinal instruments used in this study. As noted, the work attitude data were obtained by means of questionnaires. The attitude questionnaires concentrated upon the police subjects' perceptions and affective responses toward different features of their work situation. Each of the instruments focused upon one of three related, but conceptually distinct, attitude areas. Specifically, the respective attitudinal questionnaires contained 91 items relevant to aspects of the police subjects' perceived organizational ecology. The following is a list of the questionnaires used in the study:

1. Motivational Force Questionnaire
2. Organizational Commitment Questionnaire
3. Need Fulfillment and Need Satisfaction Questionnaire
4. Demographic Questionnaire

On the basis of multiple observations during actual "testing" periods, few subjects required more than one-half hour to complete the questionnaires. However, the police recruits took considerably less time on the later administrations -- after having become familiar with the general format of the various questionnaires. At the same time, the assumption was made that the comparatively large number of items and the one-month time lag between administrations helped to minimize a "memory factor" as a source of systematic error.

All instruments, with the exception of the Demographic Questionnaire, were pretested in a small pilot study conducted by this researcher. Twenty-one police officers, selected from a conveniently located police department, completed the attitude questionnaires. Each of the subjects was subsequently interviewed to determine his reaction to the instruments. Information gathered by the pilot study was particularly useful for the purpose of adjusting and, in some cases, eliminating certain ambiguous items from the questionnaires. Hence, the questionnaires utilized in this study were comprised of items which were, at least, understandable to police officers.

The remainder of this section will be devoted to a separate description of each attitudinal questionnaire. Additionally, the

Demographic Questionnaire will be discussed with special attention being paid to an item considered attitudinal in nature. All questionnaires are presented in their original format in Appendix E.

MOTIVATIONAL FORCE QUESTIONNAIRE:

The measurement of motivation was based on the postulates of expectancy theory as outlined in the preceding chapter. The specific work attitude data used to determine subject motivation were obtained by means of a 60-item questionnaire. The questionnaire was concerned with the likelihood of effort leading to various outcomes, and the values or attractiveness placed on the outcomes by members of the sample. The questionnaire was modeled along the lines of an instrument developed by Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon (1972) and was divided into two parts.

PART I (EXPECTANCY BELIEFS). The first part of the questionnaire was designed to measure the subject's beliefs concerning the likelihood of effort leading to the obtainment of various job-related outcomes. A subject was asked to indicate the extent to which he expected a particular reward to result from his "working especially hard" on a particular activity.

Part I contained 35 items. Each item asked the subject about one of five specific rewards or outcomes. The particular outcomes were:

1. Receiving favorable responses from the community
2. Receiving favorable responses from the Department
3. Receiving favorable responses from the supervisor
4. Receiving favorable responses from peers
5. Receiving greater personal satisfaction

The subject was asked whether "working especially hard" on a specific activity would lead to the above rewards. Seven activities were utilized in the construction of the questionnaire. The activities were designed to represent the major areas of the total job-related activity space for patrol officers. The seven activities and their corresponding definitions -- as presented to the subjects -- are given in Appendix E.[11]

Each of the 35 items in Part I consisted of asking the respondent to indicate on a seven-point Likert-type scale, the likelihood of one of the types of job behavior (i.e.: "working especially hard" in one of the seven activity areas) leading to one of five rewards. In other words, each question in Part I asked:

> "If a person works especially hard on ACTIVITY X, will he receive REWARD Y?"
>
> where: X = 1, 2 ... 7 and Y = 1, 2 ... 5

Examples of the questions in Part I are as follows:

> "If a patrolman works especially hard in his field investigation activities, he is more likely to receive favorable responses from his Department than if he does not work especially hard.

Not at All True			Moderately True			Very True
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

---

[11] In constructing the list of activities, numerous sources were consulted. Among the more important were: Wilson, O.W., 1963; Bristow, 1968; Webster, 1970 and the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, 1967.

> "If a patrolman works especially hard in his routine control activities, he is more likely to receive greater personal satisfaction, than if he does not work especially hard.

Not at All True			Moderately True			Very True
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PART II (VALUES OR OUTCOMES). The second part of the Motivational Force Questionnaire contained 25-items each dealing with the value the respondents placed on a particular job-related outcome. Five of the outcomes were identical to those utilized in Part I and were the only rewards used in the computation of motivational force. The remaining 20 outcomes were each preclassified as examples of one of the five major rewards -- four items corresponding to selected components of each major reward.

The respondents were asked to rate each of the 25 consequences on a seven-point Likert-type scale ranging from a negative three (-3: "dislike very much") to a positive three (+3: "like very much"). An example of a question from Part II of the questionnaire is given below.

> "Having greater opportunity to form close friendships.

Dislike Very much			Neither dislike nor like			Like Very much
-3	-2	-1	0	1	1	3

(MOTIVATIONAL FORCE). In accordance with the general formulation of expectancy theory, it was possible to obtain a summary estimate of motivational force for an individual (or group) by combining multiplicatively beliefs (expectancies) and values (valences) across the appropriate items. Thus:

$$MF_i = \sum_{j=1}^{7} \sum_{k=1}^{5} E_{jk} \quad V_k$$

where: MF_i = Motivational Force for individual i.

E_{jk} = Expectancy that activity j will lead to outcome k.

V_k = Valence for outcome k.

The sample mean of motivational force for any particular subgrouping of subjects was calculated as follows:

$$\overline{MF}_h = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} MF_i}{n}$$

where:

$\overline{MF}_h$ = Motivational Force for subgroup h.

n = Number of individuals in subgroup h.

Hence, with the questionnaire used in this study, an overall measure of motivational force was determined by summing the belief strength times the outcome value across the 35-relevant pairs of items. The twenty remaining outcomes not used in the calculation of motivational force were examined individually or within the context of their related "major" outcome. Only the five rewards which were included in the expectancy items were involved in the motivational force computation.

The general formulation of expectancy theory allows for the calculation of a summary motivational force score for each of the five rewards -- summed across the seven different activities. The particular computational formulas are presented below:

$$MF_{ik} = \sum_{j=1}^{7} E_{ijk} V_{ik}$$

where: MF_{ik} = Motivational force for individual i toward outcome (reward) k.

E_{ijk} = Expectancy that activity j will lead to outcome k (for individual i).

V_{ik} = Value of outcome k (for individual i).

and

$$\overline{MF}_{hk} = \frac{\sum_{i=i}^{n} MF_{ik}}{n}$$

where: $\overline{MF}_{hk}$ = Motivational force sample mean for subgroup h toward outcome k.

n = Number of individuals in subgroup h.

Similarly, a summary motivational force measure was calculated for each of the seven activities -- summed across the five rewards. The computational formulas are identical to the ones presented above -- with the substitution of a fixed activity and a variable valence.

For the purpose of scoring the respondents expectancy data (the E_{ij}'s), the seven-point Likert-type scale was shifted downward to embrace zero as the lowest possible response. Hence, the coded response set included values from zero ("not at all true") to six ("very true"). Consequently, the multiplicative motivational force score could range from a negative eighteen to a positive eighteen.

Outcomes that the majority of the sample considered unattractive (disliked) received reversed scoring on both beliefs and values. Thus, for each outcome, a higher belief times value score (MF) indicated greater motivational force. The summed motivational force score was interpreted as the operational definition of performance motivation -- the degree to which an individual wants to work especially hard to gain desired outcomes (i.e.: rewards).

The Motivational Force questionnaire was developed by this researcher for the specific purpose of examining police officers' work attitudes. While the general format was similar to the instrument developed by Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon (1972), the questionnaire utilized in this study differed from the other instrument in several ways.

First, the motivation instrument included specific job-related tasks as part of the expectancy items. In the past, the expectancy portion of the questionnaire asked the respondents to indicate only whether they felt "working especially hard" would lead to a specific reward. No attempt was made to determine the particular tasks within the job environment that the subjects would be willing to devote their energies toward. However, in a study involving individuals who perform a wide variety of tasks on the job, it was considered crucial to determine which particular tasks were believed to lead to desirable outcomes when one "works especially hard."

Second, the rewards were expanded to include one additional source. Previously, work-related rewards were limited to four sources -- the organization, supervisor, peers, and personal reward sources. However, the public nature of the police occupation required that the community be included as a potential reward source.

Third, the outcome variables involved in the motivational force calculations were generalized. As noted earlier, rather than asking a subject to evaluate a specific outcome (e.g.: Being admired and respected by your fellow patrolmen, etc.), generic outcomes were used (e.g.: Receiving favorable responses from your fellow patrolmen, etc.). Essentially, this alternative formulation was employed because of the difficulty involved in selecting specific outcome variables for the questionnaire. In other words, while it was relatively easy to identify the salient, generic job-related reward sources, it would have been exceedingly difficult to develop an approximation of an inclusive listing of particular rewards. Furthermore, an astronomical number of questions would have been required to remain consistent to the theoretical demands of the computations.

Finally, a choice of effort ("work especially hard") leading to rewards was preferred to the alternative, performance ("perform especially well") leading to rewards. The stem "perform especially well" has been used in several studies for the expectancy portion of the questionnaire. However, in this study, "work especially hard" was considered more meaningful and interpretable in view of the multiple connotations which may accompany "performance" in public service occupations.

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT QUESTIONNAIRE:

The measurement of organizational commitment was accomplished through the use of a 15 item questionnaire developed by Porter and Smith (1970). Each item consisted of a short statement believed to be related to a particular aspect of overall organizational commitment (see Chapter I). Subjects were asked to respond to each item on a seven-point, Likert-type scale -- ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree."

Since a person's commitment to any organization is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon, the 15 items cover several aspects of the relationship between the individual and the organization. The questionnaire is presented in Appendix E.

Six of the items on the questionnaire were stated in a negative manner. This was done in order to break-up a subject's response pattern. However, the six items were again reversed during the scoring of the questionnaire for the data analysis. Consequently, all 15 items were handled as if they were positively worded.

The analysis of the data from this questionnaire was based on an individual subject's total score obtained by summing his responses across all of the items and dividing by the number of items to which the subject responded. Thus, an individual's level of organizational commitment was operationally defined as his mean score for the commitment questionnaire and was computed as follows:[12]

$$C_i = \sum_{j=1}^{15} x_{ij}/n \quad \text{for all } i = 1, 2, 3 \ldots N$$

where: C_i = Level of organizational commitment for the i^{th} individual.

x_{ij} = the response of the i^{th} individual to the j^{th} item on the questionnaire.

n = number of items the i^{th} individual answered.

Also, for any particular subgroup of the total sample (or the total sample itself), the overall level of commitment was computed by:

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[12] If a subject failed to answer an item, his score for that item was zero. However, this method does not affect the mean score for that individual since the mean score was based solely on the total number of items to which each subject responded.

$$\overline{C} = \sum_{i=1}^{N} C_i / N$$

where: $\overline{C}$ = overall level of commitment for a particular subgroup (e.g.: total sample, Group V, Recruit's with college attendance, etc.)

C_i = level of organizational commitment for $i^{\underline{th}}$ individual in particular subgroup.

N = Number of persons in a particular subgroup.

This questionnaire has proven valuable in a number of past studies (Porter and Smith, 1970; Porter and Boulian, 1971; Porter and Dubin, 1971). The instrument has demonstrated its ability to discriminate successfully between subjects' with high commitment and subjects' with low commitment and the discrimination has been shown to have behavioral correlates.

NEED FULFILLMENT AND NEED SATISFACTION QUESTIONNAIRE:

The measurement of need fulfillment and need satisfaction was accomplished through the use of a 16 item questionnaire developed by Porter (1961) and based upon Maslow's (1954) "hierarchy of needs" theory -- see Chapter I. Each item contained a short statement describing a job characteristic followed by three questions concerning that particular characteristic. The instructions and the individual items comprising the questionnaire are presented in Appendix E.

Each characteristic was believed to be associated with one of the five "Maslowian" needs. However, three of the characteristics (items) do not fit a particular need type and were considered "dummy" characteristics -- inserted either to break up response patterns or to provide additional information.

The analysis of the data was based upon responses to the three questions asked of each characteristic. The three questions asked were:

A) How much (of the characteristic) do you now have in your job?

B) How much (of the characteristic) should you have in your job?

C) How important is this (characteristic) to you?

The subjects' responses to the first question (A) was taken as an indication of the perceived level of need fulfillment. Consequently, an individual's need fulfillment was operationally defined as his mean score on either: (1) a cluster of characteristics representing a particular need, or (2) all need-related characteristics (total need fulfillment -- 13 items).

The difference between the subjects' responses to the second question (B: perceived equitable amount) and the responses to the first question (A: perceived reality) were taken as a measurement of need dissatisfaction. Hence, the lower the difference score, the less dissatisfied a subject. On the other hand, if the difference between the "should be" and "is now" question was high, the greater the subjects' dissatisfaction with that particular characteristic. As with the need fulfillment question, a subject's level of dissatisfaction was operationally defined as the mean difference score on either: (1) a cluster of characteristics representing a particular need; or (2) all need-related characteristics (total need dissatisfaction -- 13 items).

This method of calculating perceived need satisfaction has two presumed advantages. The first concerns the advantage of not asking the subjects directly about their perceived satisfaction. The indirect measure somewhat reduces any tendency for a subject to use a simple response set to determine his answer. It is more difficult, although not impossible, for the subjects to manipulate their satisfaction measure to conform to what they think the researcher wants. Second, this method of measuring satisfaction is considered a more conservative measure than a single question concerning obtained satisfaction. In effect, the method asked the respondents how satisfied they were in terms of what they expected from their police officer position.

Finally, the third question (C) was utilized as a measurement of the subjects' perceived importance of that particular characteristic. Again, the operational definition of need importance to a subject was merely by mean score on either: (1) a cluster of characteristics representing a particular need; or (2) all need-related characteristics (total need importance score -- 13 items).

This need satisfaction instrument has been used in a number of studies (Porter, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964; Haire, Ghiselli and Porter, 1966; Eran, 1966; Miller, 1966; Porter and Mitchell, 1967; Porter and Lawler, 1968;and Lefkowitz, 1971). The Questionnaire has demonstrated an ability to discriminate among relatively satisfied and relatively dissatisfied subjects. The studies have also shown some tendency for subjects' ranked higher on a measure of job performance by their superiors to be more likely to express less need dissatisfaction and more need fulfillment.

While the data supporting the above studies relied primarily on management-type respondents, the questionnaire was believed to be appropriate for police-patrolmen subjects. As emphasized earlier, a police officer works in a rich and varied environment. There certainly exist abundant opportunities to satisfy higher-order needs (autonomy in decision-making, opportunity for individual growth and the like) as well as lower-order needs (feelings of security, opportunities to form close friendships and the like). Furthermore, as Porter and Lawler (1968) pointed out, performance differences among subjects were more likely to be related to attitudes concerned with higher-level than with lower-level needs. Thus, an instrument which concentrated upon police officers' perceptions of the higher-order needs was considered essential for this study.

DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE (INNER- AND OTHER-DIRECTED POLICE OFFICER)

Section D of this Chapter presented a brief summary of the sample population. This portrait was based upon the subjects' responses to a 21 item demographic questionnaire. 18 of the items dealt with information strictly outside the attitude sphere. Two of the remaining questions -- desired assignment and desired rank -- are discussed in Appendices C and D. The other question concerned the subjects' perceptions about the "ideal" police officer and is discussed below.

An important movement in the organizational behavior literature characterizes modern-industrial man as either inner- or other-directed (Reisman, 1950; Whyte, 1956; Porter, 1964; Porter and Henry, 1964; Porter and Mitchell, 1967; Olson, 1970a,b). The inner-directed man has been portrayed as behaving according to his personal code of what constitutes appropriate action. Hence, the ideal inner-directed person works best by himself, on his own terms. When he comes in contact with others, he is most comfortable controlling and directing their activities.

On the other hand, the other-directed person is depicted as an even-tempered, agreeable sort, who enjoys carrying out prescribed duties. The other-directed individual reacts quickly and effectively to the needs of others. Furthermore, he is sensitive and receptive to clues originating from the social environment regarding the best line of action under the conditions present.

In an attempt to distinguish between inner- and other-directed police officers, an item was included on the Demographic Questionnaire which contrasted respondent preferences for the ideal police officer type. The item was based upon Olson's (1970b) modification of an instrument developed and used by Porter (1964). The question used in this study asked the subjects to select one of two trait clusters on the basis of what he thought a policeman should be. The item is presented below:

Below are two groups of words which have been used to describe the kind of person policemen should be. Which group come closest to describing the kind of person you believe a policeman should be? (Choose only one group)

1.	2.
Forceful	Cooperative
Imaginative	Adaptable
Independent	Cautious
Self-Confident	Agreeable
Decisive	Tactful

The two clusters were intented to examine a composite of the theoretical attributes underlying the inner- and other-directed distinction. Cluster 1 represented the inner-directed police officer who is "his own boss", while Cluster 2 represented the other-directed police officer who responds to perceived social expectations. The distinction was not meant to be invidious, nor was meant to accurately describe a whole "personality" system, for no pure types exist. However, the assumption was that each type exists in terms of general behavioral tendancies and a subject's preference for either type was reflected by the question response.

Three of the four recruit groups were asked this question during the Academy phase of training (before going on the "street" with an FTO) and again after training (following the accumulation of some experience with "real" police work) -- Groups III and IV were asked this question at Administration Periods 1 and 4. Responses were summed across individuals and a percentage score corresponding to each cluster was calculated for each group.[13]

E. Job Performance Measures

A primary concern of this research was with the multivaceted aspects of a police officer's performance on the "street". Hence, global ratings, as opposed to some summary index based upon a number of specific behaviors, were used. Aside from convenience considerations, the choice of global ratings appeared appropriate since police organizations typically devote few resources or expend much effort toward either the "subjective" or "objective" evaluation of its members.[14]

There are several findingsin the literature concerned with performance ratings indicating that global ratings are reliable and offer a good approximation of the more extensive rating alternatives (see Whitlock, 1963). Porter and Lawler (1968) have pointed out that the past studies indicate:

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[13] Groups I, V, VI and VII were also asked this question. Since all these groups had at least some experience in the field, they were administered the item on only one occasion.

[14] It was clear that some "objective" or quantitative indicators of performance did exist (number of traffic tickets issued, number of arrests, miles logged, etc.). However, these records were not available to this researcher nor were the yearly performance ratings. Consequently, the design and administration of a performance evaluation specific for this research was necessitated.

> "...simple global performance ratings
> may yield a reasonable approximation
> of what would be obtained by using a
> more extensive critical incident or
> other type of check list." (P. 43)

Additionally, Lawler (1968) found that global superior ratings of a subject's performance substantially met the robust requirements of convergent and discriminant validity as outlined by Campbell and Fiske (1959). Consequently, global performance ratings can be both reliable and valid measures of behavior.

For this study, three measures of job performance were obtained on the majority of subjects in the recruit sample. Two global measures of job performance were obtained by distributing a rating form to the immediate supervisors (sergeants) of the recruits to whom attitude questionnaires were administered. The third measure was obtained from the Training Division and dealt with each subject's performance in the Police Academy.

The global rating forms were distributed by a Lieutenant from the Administration Division of the Union City Department. The Lieutenant was instructed to assure verbally each sergeant involved in the study that the ratings were to be used solely for research purposes. Along with the rating form, each sergeant was provided a preaddressed envelope and instructions requesting the return of the completed ratings directly to this researcher.

The rating forms were distributed to sergeants of all subjects in the recruit sample (Groups I, II, III and IV) and to the sergeants of the 2-year experienced group (Group V). In all, 166 rating forms were distributed and 152 were completed and returned (92%). Ratings were not obtained for the 5-year and 10-year groups because of the relatively small number of patrolmen in these groups.

The ratings were distributed in early December, 1970. Thus, each sergeant had an opportunity to observe a particular recruit for at least two-months. The forms asked each sergeant to rate his subordinate on: how well the officer was performing on his job; and how much effort was the officer putting forth on the job. Each patrolman was listed by name at the top of the rating sheet. The ratings were made on an eight-point, Likert-type scale. For the performance rating, the scale ranged from "performance outstanding" (8) to "performance does not meet minimum requirements" (1). Similarly, on the effort ratings, the scale ranged from "effort outstanding" (8) to "effort does not meet minimum requirements" (1).

The Pearsonian correlation between the effort and performance ratings was +0.87 (N=118) for the recruit sample, and +0.60 (N=31) for the two-year experience group. These correlations indicate substantial association between the two supervisors' ratings. That is, police officers who were rated high on the quality of job performance were also rated high by their superior on effort put forth. However, the relationship is not perfect. This finding is in accord with the Porter-Lawler (1968) model discussed in Chapter I. The model suggested that although effort expended is a major factor contributing to job performance, it is not the only one. Other factors, such as abilities, assignments, role perceptions, etc. break up the link between effort and performance.

In addition to the supervisors' ratings, all subjects were ranked according to their final "academic" standing in their respective Academy training classes. These rankings were obtained from the Training Division and represent the evaluation (by the training staff) of the recruit's performance in his respective Basic Training class. Each subject's Academy rank was based on his overall classroom performance.[15] A subject's performance on the "non-academic" tasks (firearm training, driving instruction, etc.) was not included in his overall class score.

The obtained rankings were converted to standard scores for the purpose of the data analysis. Interestingly, the correlation between a subject's Academy rank and his sergeant's evaluation of his field performance was +0.13 for the recruits (N=117), and +0.02 for the experienced Group (N=31). Similarly, the correlation between a subject's Academy rank and his supervisor's rating of effort in the field was +0.11 for the recruits and +0.06 for the experienced group. These correlations were obtained after standardizing the superior's rating of performance and effort and were all Spearman Rank-Difference coefficients. Needless to say, none of these rank correlations was significant at the .05 level.

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[15] As such, the ranks are based upon tests, notebooks, papers and other written work turned in by the recruits during their stay at the Academy. The weighting scheme used by the Training Division to rank each class was identical for each of the four sampled recruit groups. In fact, the weighting scheme does not appear to have undergone any appreciable change over the last ten years.

The lack of a significant level of association between the measures of job ("street") behavior and Academy rankings indicate the criteria on which the Training Division evaluates and rates police recruits do not correspond to the criteria used by the field sergeants. Hence, this lack of correlation suggests that for most Union City recruits, their performance in the Police Academy was unrelated to their eventual "street" performance -- as judged by their sergeant.

Finally, although the superior's evaluations do not approach the type of "objective" measurement represented by the Academy rankings, both are engrossing measures. The sergeants' evaluations are particularly significant from the perspective of factors which may affect a patrolman's later career -- promotions, transfers, terminations, etc. The "academic" rankings are of interest because they represent one of the few bases on which the individual may compare himself with others in the Department. Furthermore, the Academy evaluations are indicative of the extent to which the police officer is familiar with certain technical aspects of his job (e.g., criminal codes, traffic laws, etc.). All three measures will be used extensively in the following Chapter.

F. Description of the Data Analysis Methods

As noted, one objective of this research was to delineate the major trends across time for the job related attitudes of the police recruits. As such, the data analysis was not designed to provide for sophisticated tests of a priori hypotheses. Rather, the data analysis was arranged so that efficient, yet simple indicators of the relationships were used. Given the exploratory nature of the study, the difficulties encountered during the field portion of the research and the high cost involved in gaining greater statistical precision, the techniques described below are thought to be reasonably appropriate.

The significance of differences in group means on the attitude questionnaires across time were determined by use of the simple analysis of variance technique. This method provided a relatively clear-cut test regarding the likelihood of the change in group means over time. Hence, the F-test allowed the researcher to state within limits of confidence, whether or not the differences in mean scores could be attributed to random fluctuations. For the purpose of this study, if the F-ratio was significant at the .05 level, the implication was that the between-time variation was greater than could be expected on the basis of chance.

To assess the degree of relationship among the numerous variables examined in this study, the Pearsonian correlation coefficient was used. In most cases, the significance of the correlation was tested by use of a t-statistic with N-2 degrees-of-freedom. Hence, if a sample t reached the .05 level-of-confidence, the conclusion was made the relationship was not a chance deviation from zero -- implying that some degree of association existed between the two variables.

Most data collected by means of survey questionnaire instruments, including the ones used in this study, are basically ordinal in nature. The use of the product-moment correlation coefficient requires that the data to be analyzed meet interval measurement assumptions. However, when response distributions are reasonably normal -- as they were in this study--the product-moment coefficient may be used with ordinal data without seriously jeopardizing the results. Additionally, the product-moment correlation coefficient assumes that the relationship between any two variables is linear in form. At best, only some data in this study approximate linearity. However, in an exploratory study where little or nothing is known concerning the relationship among variables, the linearity assumption does not appear to be prohibitive. The purpose here is merely to begin the investigation of a number of possible associations and not to define categorically the shape of the relationship.

Where appropriate, other correlational techniques were utilized. For example, whenever a dichotomous variable was to be correlated with a continuous variable, a biserial correlation coefficient was computed and a t-test (applicable for small samples of less than 100) used to determine statistical significance. Or, when a measure of the relationship between two dichotomous variables was desired, the phi-coefficient was used and its statistical probability was checked by use of a chi-square test.

Because of the number of comparisons made in this study, it is probable that some t values reached statistical significance by chance alone. Hence, it is important that the findings fit into an overall pattern. For the most part, the results from the various tests for significance of differences between means are not reported -- although in several cases they did reach statistical significance. This decision was based upon the exploratory nature of this research. Essentially, the consistancy of a relationship across time was felt to deserve more attention in this research report than the outcome of a specific statistical test.

The effects of the historically-relevant occurences upon the subjects' responses to the various attitude questionnaires were examined by use of a technique labelled "stepwise multiple regression". The result of this analysis is an equation for predicting a criterion score (e.g., variation from an individual's mean commitment score, etc.) on the basis of a number of predictor scores (e.g., where the subject was located in the training sequence, whether or not the subject completed the questionnaire before the police revisions, etc.). For the purposes of this study, this procedure -- which adds one variable to the predictor equation at a time and thus provides a number of intermediate regression equations as well as the complete equation -- was deemed most appropriate.

The result of a stepwise regression yields a multiple correlation coefficient which is an estimate of the relationship of the dependent variable with all the predictor variables taken together. The significance of the multiple correlation coefficient is tested by use of an F-test. The coefficient is interpreted as the proportion of the criterion variance which is predictable from the knowledge of the predictor, in this case, the "history" variables. Additionally beta coefficients (β) are calculated for each of the dependent variables. The betas are interpreted as an indication of the contribution of the associated predictor variable to the criterion value. The significance of each beta is determined by use of the t-test. Finally, a standard error of estimate is calculated for each regression equation which indicates the range of variation between observed scores and predicted scores. Thus, the standard error of estimate ascertains the accuracy of a predicted criterion value.

The criterion variable for each of the regressions was continuous. Specifically, the criterion was a subject's score on a dependent variable (e.g., organizational commitment) for a particular administration minus the subject's mean score on that variable over all administrations in which he participated. Hence, the criterion variable represented the level-of-change -- from a subject's mean score -- which would be expected in the dependent variable at a particular time period. Since the absolute value of the difference was not used, directionality (above or below the mean) could be inferred.

The change score criterion was used primarily because of the dilemma individual differences posed in the analysis of the "history-related" affects. If, for example, absolute scores at each time period were used as the criterion value, individual differences inherent in the attitude score would "wash out" most time-related affects. If, for example, absolute scores at each time period were used as the criterion value, individual differences inherent in the attitude score would "wash out" most time-related shifts (i.e., high scorers would cancel out low scorers). However, when the "change-from-mean" scores were used, the analysis hinges upon the level and direction of the "rises" and "drops" of a subject's reported scores -- a more meaningful indicator of the affects resulting presumably from intervening "history-related" variables.

The independent or predictor variables in the regression formulation numbered ten and were concerned with such historically-relevant variables as: the subject's position in the training cycle, membership in the "inter-disciplinary" training group; the subject's position vis-a-vis the policy changes in the Department, particular administration number for the questionnaire, and the time the subject had spent in the organization. Eight of the variables were dichotomous and the remaining two were graduated, discrete variables.

In general, only the significance of the multiple correlation coefficient was of concern. The research question was primarily one of determining the extent to which the "history" variables were related to individual response changes. If no relationship is found, then the variables (assuming the measures -- dependent variables -- are both reliable and valid) may be ignored in later data analysis. On the other hand, if the relationship is significant, then attention must be paid to the particular variable (s) which appear to be most influential regarding the level-of-change in the criterion variable.

Furthermore, all predictor variables are subject to a t-test which, if significant, is interpreted to mean that the contribution of that particular independent variable to the criterion explains a significant portion of the total variance.

The stepwise procedure progressively includes variables in the predictor equation according to the contribution each makes toward accounting for the criterion variance -- e.g., the independent variable making the largest contribution to the criterion variance is selected first for inclusion in the predictor equation followed by the independent variable making the second largest contribution and so on. The selection process continues until all variables are included in the equation. Furthermore, at each stage, a determination is made of the increase in the multiple repression coefficient -- corrected for statistical bias -- due to the additional variable. Hence, a related objective of the analysis was to select those "test" or independent variables which best predict the criterion.

While the data do not strictly meet all the rigorous assumptions of the multiple regression model, the data do approximate the more important assumptions (i.e., not highly skewed, approximate normal distributions about the various means and can be viewed as a linear function without seriously damaging the results). Hence, the technique is valuable from the standpoint of determining broad trends resulting from the uncontrollable environmental events. Furthermore, since the study aims for description, not prediction, the use of multiple regression solely as an analytic tool was helpful from the perspective of handling a relatively large number of variables simultaneously and indicating their effect (both in isolation and in interaction) upon a dependent variable.[16]

In summary, the use of sophisticated statistical techniques was not deemed crucial to the data analysis. Essentially, the purpose of the research was to locate broad trends and suggest areas where future research may prove particularly fruitful. Since the study was conducted under confounding circumstances, a complex and elegant statistical design appeared inappropriate. In view of the large number of variables investigated in this study, the techniques of analysis were chosen primarily for practical reasons. Aside from the ease of communicating the results, the ready availability of computer programs for generating correlation coefficients, multiple regressions and the analysis of variance made the approach explained here the most efficient and effective method of dealing with the data.

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[16] I would like to extend a special thanks to Professors' Jerome Kirk and Alex Mood for their professional aid and comfort during all phases of this project. In particular, their counsel furnished invaluable assistance in the conceptualization of the multiple-regression analysis.

> "The coop was a short distance off his post ... Paul knocked; the door opened in a moment and he stepped inside.
>
> "Where you been?" asked the cop who had let him in.
>
> "Out on post," said Paul.
>
> "You rookies -- don't you know you can get in trouble out there!"
>
> Gene Radano, Walking the Beat, p. 46

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

This chapter presents the results obtained from the questionnaire portion of the research. In most cases no attempt has been made to distinguish among the various Training Academy classes (Groups I, II, III, IV) because either: (1) there were no significant differences among groups; or (2) there were too few subjects in a particular group to test for statistical significance in a meaningful manner.

As mentioned, the questionnaire study was considered strictly exploratory in nature. Hence, data analysis was designed to discover broad attitude trends rather than to test specific hypotheses. In this chapter, the results are summarized in such a form as to highlight these trends, providing the reader with a basic understanding of the overall attitude picture reported by the sample population.

In the preceding chapter, the response rates of the various recruit groups were delineated. A cursory examination of these response rates shows the relatively small sample size for Group I questionnaire administrations four and five -- representing the eighth and ninth month of police experience for those subjects. Consequently, due to this disappointing percentage of returned questionnaires, results from these two time periods have been omitted from the presentation of results. This analysis then is concerned only with the data collected -- for the longitudinal portion of the study -- from the recruits at day one through the end of the seventh month on the job (t_0 through t_7).

As noted in Chapter II, an analysis was made of the job attitudes of those recruits who quit the study and those who remained in the study.[1] The examination revealed very few significant differences between "leavers" and "stayers" was not consistent on any of the questionnaire measures. Thus, no empirical basis was present upon which to separate the two groups.[2] With respect to the available data, the job attitudes of those recruits who participated conscientiously in the study were indistinguishable from those recruits who did not except, of course, when it came to returning questionnaires!

---

[1] Individuals were placed into either the "leaver" or "stayer" group on the basis of the number of administration periods in which they participated. A number of separate investigations were conducted which compared all possible combinations of groupings. For example, in one case, the questionnaire responses of those who participated in one or two administrations were contrasted with the responses of those who participated in all five administrations; in another case, the questionnaire responses of those who participated in one, two or three administrations were contrasted with the responses of those who participated in four or five administrations; and so on.

[2] The significance of the difference between groups at each time period was determined by use of the t-test at the .05 level.

This chapter is divided into six sections. The first deals with the results of the regression analysis outlined in Chapter II. The second section discusses the inner-other directed patrolman. In some respects, the findings documented in this section can be viewed as a model for the results to follow. The third, fourth and fifth sections present the findings associated with the motivational force, organizational commitment and need satisfaction questionnaires respectively. Finally, the sixth section attempts briefly to interrelate the questionnaires. The comparison of the Union City findings with results obtained in other studies using similar (or identical) questionnaires is postponed until Chapter V.

A. History Effects -- Multiple Regression Analysis

To summarize briefly the rationale contained in the preceding chapter, multiple regression was used in the date analysis largely for the purpose of gaining additional information beyond what the more conventional data analysis techniques could supply. By use of multiple regression, it was hoped some insight could be obtained into attitude changes which resulted presumably from a number of uncontrollable circumstances occurring while this study was in progress. Since the goal of this research was to acquire as general a picture of the work-related attitudes of police recruits as possible the extraneous sources of attitude distortion operting on the Union City sample needed to be delineated.[3] Consequently, given the inability of the research design to handle the unpredictable external factors, the analysis portion of the research process had to attempt to describe what effects, if any, such occurences had on the data.

Of the four separate multiple regressions which were analyzed, three failed to show a significant relationship to the subjects' variation in attitude score. These regressions concerned the criteria: (1) Beliefs (Path-Goal Questionnaire, Part I); (2) Motivational Force (Path-Goal Questionnaire -- multiplicative combination of beliefs and values); and (3) Need Dissatisfaction ("How much should there be" minus "How much is there now"). None of the three were able to explain more than .06 (R^2) of the criterion variance. Furthermore, none of the F-values calculated for the determination of the significance of the multiple correlation coefficients reached even the .10 level when all predictors were taken into account. Hence, there was no basis for asserting that a subject's variation from his overall mean could be explained by the additive combination of the various exogenous variables.

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[3] The use of the term "attitude distortion" is intended simply to convey a connection between the dependent variable and an intervening variable representing an extraneous condition (e.g., subject completed the questionnaire prior to the policy changes in the Department, subject a member of the "interdisciplinary" group, etc.) Basically, the examination of the intervening variables serves as some protection against a spurious interpretation of the data.

Deviations from a subject's mean level of organizational commitment was the only criterion variable which was associated significantly with the predictor variables. Yet, only 21 percent of the variance in the change scores was explainable when all factors related to the subjects' organizational history were included. Furthermore, only one predictor coefficient was different significantly from zero -- the coefficient associated with the "before policy change" variable (X_1). In fact, this variable was the first to enter the regression equation of the stepwise procedure and its presence alone accounted for virtually all of the total explained variance. The addition of the other nine variables contributed only a very small increase in the percentage of explained variance. Specifically, this analysis tends to show that the policy revisions and the accompaning organizational irregularities had the major effect of reducing a recruit's commitment to the department. Additionally, it is interesting to note that the publicity surrounding the Grand Jury disclosure of the "payoff system" and the indictments of the Union City policy officials occurred during the early stages of the study -- before the policy changes. It is precisely at this point that the recruits' reported their highest level of organizational commitment. Only after the internal vicissitudes did the subjects alter their commitment attitudes.

While the predictor equations failed to show a significant association with the other three criterion variables, an inspection of the stepwise procedure and the simple correlations between the test variables and each criterion variable provided additional insight pertaining to certain aspects of the research problems. Both the stepwise procedure (which allows the assessment of the importance of each predictor variable relative to the other predictors) and the significance (whether or not the magnitude of the simple correlation (r) statistically exceeds zero) were helpful aids in the evaluation of the overall pattern of the data -- although in three cases the interaction effects presumably "washed-out" or suppressed various relationships when the predictors were combined.

In the case of attitude changes regarding beliefs (expectancies) and motivational force, the first variable to enter the regression equation was X_1,("before policy changes") and it's contribution to the explained variance, when the effects of the other variables were controlled was significant. The correlation coefficients indicated that both beliefs and motivational force scores were significantly higher if a subject completed the questionnaire before the policy changes occurred.

Regarding the need dissatisfaction measure, the first variable to enter the regression analysis was X_5 ("subject completed the questionnaire during his FTO portion of training"). The simple correlation coefficient associated with X_5 was significant and suggests that the subjects were most satisfied with their job at this point in their early careers. Yet, X_5's impact upon the criterion value was significant only when the other predictors were ignored. When the other variables were included, the relationship disappears.

In the following sections, a description of the response patterns of the recruit subjects was undertaken which largely disregards most "test" variables examined via the multiple regression technique. Futhermore, the mean values of the various dependent variables were of prime importance rather than the level of change, In most cases, the relationships were approached from the "experience" perspective, with time-in-the-organization as the underlying independent variable. Because departmental experience was the least ambiguous variable and converged approximately with the training patterns of the recruits, it represented the logical choice -- particularly in light of the minimal effect of the policy changes on most of the dependent variables investigated in this study. Also, the multiple regressions indicated the "time" variable entered each stepwise procedure on either the second or third iteration. Additionally, the simple correlation between time-in-organization and three of the criterion variables reached the .10 level of significance (organizational commitment, motivational force and beliefs). The correlations were negative indicating the difference scores (criteria) were moving from positive to negative. In other words, there was a definite tendancy for the mean scores on each of the attitude measures to decrease as the recruits accumulated experience on the job.

The finding that policy revisions were related to the decrease in means does not limit the use of time-in-organization as a central feature of the following analysis. The omnipresence of the "before policy changes" variable (as an interesting variable affecting the dependent variable -- regardless of the experience a subject may have had in the department) in the regression analysis merely indicates that attitudes were likely to undergo a larger alteration during the policy change period than at any other examined time period. In short, the presence of this extraneous factor appears to amplify (or accelerate) the relationship between time-in-organization and the various dependent variables. Since the policy change period was truncated (although the lasting effect cannot be estimated accurately by this study), time-in-organization appeared to be the best independent variable upon which to organize and base the results.

B. A Paradigm: The Inner- and Other-Directed Police Officer

A brief rationale was presented in the last chapter regarding an item appearing on the Demographic Questionnaire. The question asked the respondents to select one of two trait clusters which they believed best represented the "kind of person a policeman should be." As noted, it was possible to ask two out of the four recruit groups this question during their initial training (Academy) phase and again after they had accumulated some "street" experience. As Table 3-1 indicates, there was a rather dramatic shift in the recruit perceptions. Indeed, the shift operated overwhelmingly

TABLE 3-1

IDEAL TYPE POLICE OFFICER
INNER- OR OTHER- DIRECTED

AFTER TRAINING
"ON-THE-STREET"

		Inner-Directed	Other-Directed	
DURING TRAINING	Inner-Directed	N=30	N=5	N=35
	Other-Directed	N=17	N=14	N=31
		N=47	N=19	

Total N=66

$\chi^2 = 6.21$*

Significant at 0.02 level

* χ^2 value was calculated according to the Yates' correction factor used when one or more of the expected frequencies falls below ten (McNemar, 1969, p. 262).

in one direction -- toward the inner-directed traits. While only fifty-three percent of the recruits sampled in the Academy selected the cluster of inner-directed traits, over seventy percent selected this cluster after having worked for a short time in the "real world" of policing. Apparently, the occupational milieu is such that most officers come to believe that the take-charge, aggressive type is best suited for a police career.

This finding was almost duplicated by the remainder of the subject groupings -- where the item was asked on only one occasion. Sixty-nine percent (N=26) of the police recruits' having had five-months of experience on the force (Group I) preferred the cluster of traits associated with the inner-directed officer as the archtype policeman. Sixty-six percent (N=35) of the two-year experienced sample selected the inner-directed cluster and fully eighty-eight percent (N=25) of the five-year experienced sample felt the inner-directed traits best represented the "ideal" policeman. However, the ten-year experienced sample showed a reversal of this trend. The subjects in this group opted for the other-directed cluster (57%: N=21). Yet, when the sergeants, which comprised about one third of the subjects in the group, were removed from consideration, the inner-directed cluster was again preferred by the patrolmen (57%; N=14).[4]

While it would be easy to overestimate the importance of these results, the sole purpose here has merely been to illustrate the fact that the occupational experience of police officers does alter their attitudes -- in this case, a subject's perceptions about the type of person a policeman should be. While the attitudes of patrolmen may approach homogeneity during later stages of their police career (eliminating for the moment, the attitudes of the ten-year groups, most of whom were not patrolmen), recruits enter the department with attitudes representative of a wider range of job beliefs. Hence, this particular question exemplifies attitude change and illustrates the change-across-time perspective taken in the remainder of this chapter. Such a perspective views the data from a dynamic standpoint emphasizing attitude change attributed to the socialization of newcomers into the occupational world of the urban police.

---

[4] No analysis was conducted of the potential relationships which may have existed between either the demographic or job behavior variables and the inner-or other-directed preferences expressed by the subjects. As noted, this item was preceived as useful insofar as it illustrated the propensity of the recruits to alter their *a priori* attitudes during their early career experiences. Furthermore, the sample sizes associated with certain cells in Table 5-1, as well as the extreme dichotomies displayed by the 2-year and 5-year experienced officer groups prohibited the calculation of meaningful correlations (see McNemer, Pp. 218-221).

C. Motivational Force Questionnaire

Belief and Value Changes over Time:

This section is divided into three major subsections: The first is concerned with the means for the three attitude measures -- belief, outcome value and motivational force. The second subsection examines the same three measures in regard to the five sources of outcomes (i.e., rewards) -- department, immediate supervisor, peer, self and community. The third sub-section deals with two of the attitude measures (expectancy and motivational force) in terms of the seven activities which formed the belief items of the questionnaire.

Across all outcomes. The expectancy score for each time period represents the mean response given the 35 items on the questionnaire. Hence, it indicates the average level of expectancy (or belief) that effort leads to the various outcomes. Figure 3-1 illustrates a significant decrease in the mean belief score.[5] Data from the two-year experienced group (Group V) show a further decrease from the seven-month level and represents the lowest belief score for all groups in the sample. The data from the five-year and ten-year experienced groups display an increase from the two-year group -- although the means for all the cross-sectional groups were statistically non-significant when tested with the t_7 mean of the

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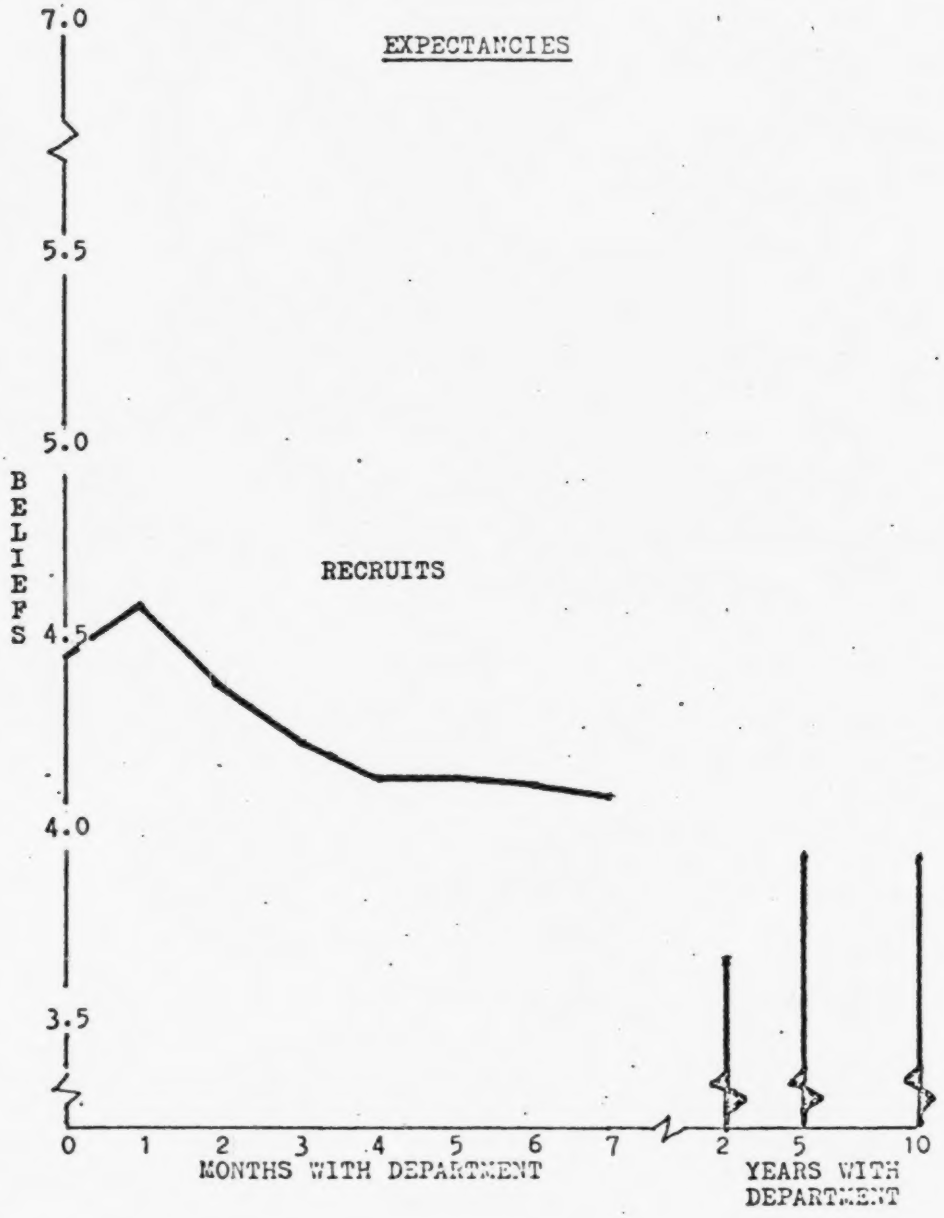
[5] Tests of significance for the logitudinal sample were made by using an analysis of variance test at the .05 level of confidence.

FIGURE 3-1



EXPECTANCIES
7.0
5.5
5.0
BELIEFS
4.5
4.0
3.5
RECRUITS
0
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
MONTHS WITH DEPARTMENT
2
5
10
YEARS WITH DEPARTMENT

longitudinal sample. However, they were significantly lower than the t_0 mean.[6] The overall decrease implies that over the time periods covered by this study, the members of the sample (recruits) lowered their belief that working especially hard on the job would lead to desirable outcomes.

The average value the recruit sample placed on the five major outcomes is illustrated in Figure 3-2. Although there was a decline in the values placed on the five rewards, the decrease did not reach statistical significance. The average value the longitudinal sample placed on all twenty-five outcomes is also given in Figure 3-2. Again, the slight decrease did not reach statistical significance. Data from Groups V, VI and VII shows some further decay, although the means for these groups were all statistically non-significant from either the recruit mean at t_7 or t_0. This finding implies that the attractiveness of the various outcomes remained relatively constant over time. Such stability was not surprising. In fact, it was expected that the values the neophyte police officers attached to the various outcomes potentially available in the employment setting would remain relatively constant over the measurement period. Ordinarily, it can be assumed

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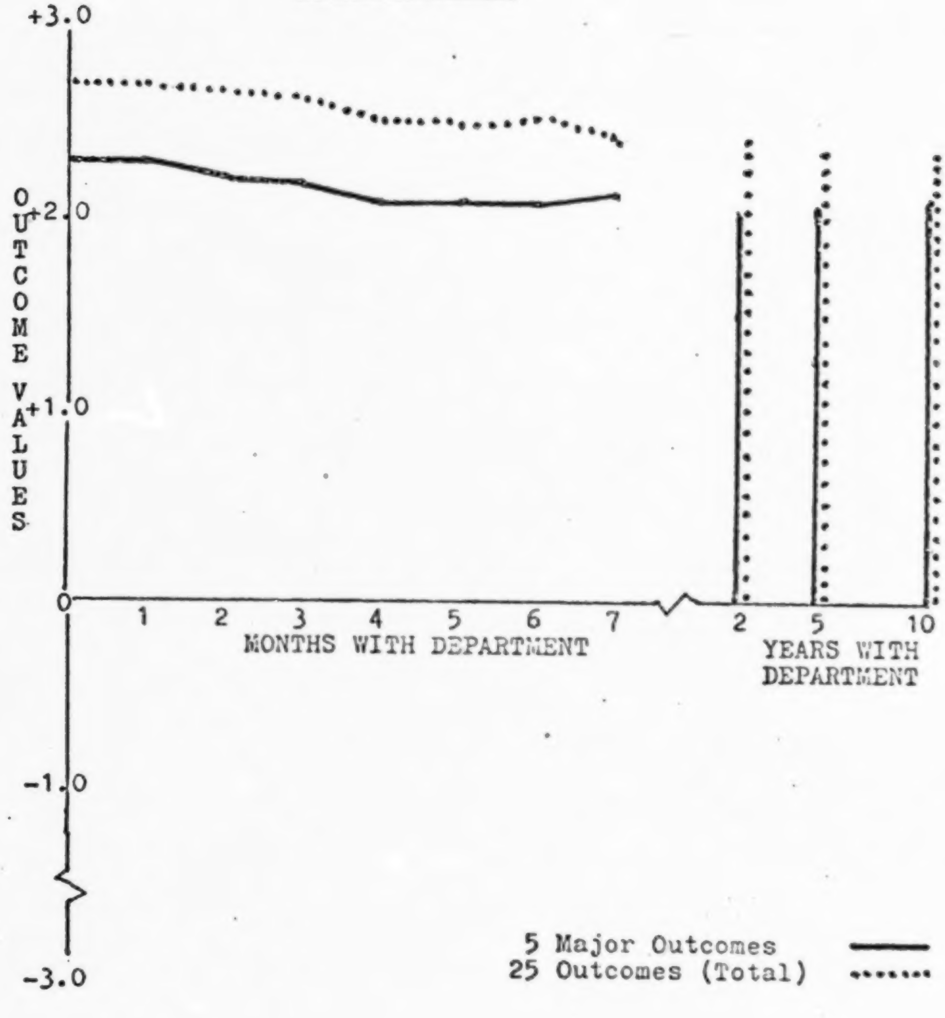
[6] Tests of significance among the three cross-sectional groups and the various groups representing patricular time periods in the longitudinal sample were made by using a t-test at the .05 level of significance.

FIGURE 3-2

OUTCOME VALUES



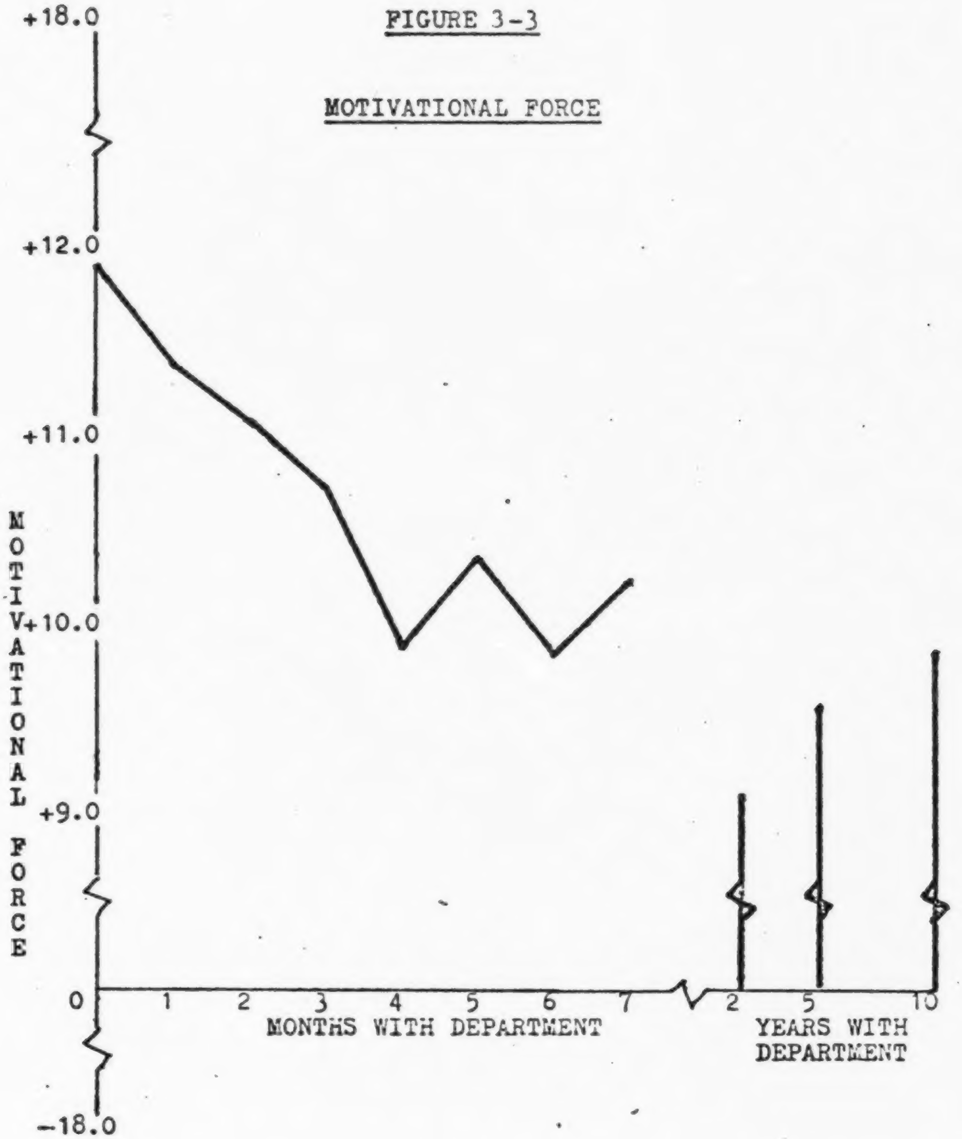
that these employee values are well formed outside of and prior to the entering of a particular work situation and are relatively unaffected by the day-to-day happenings in an organization (see Chapter II).

By combining the respondents' beliefs and values, a measurement of motivational force was obtained. A high score was assumed to indicate a strong desire on the part of the subject to "work especially hard" in order to obtain valued outcomes. Figure 3-3 shows the motivational force values for the recruit sample decreased significantly from the first day to the end of the seventh month on the job. The veteran officers display a lower mean motivational force than the recruits. However, only for the two-year experienced sample was the difference between the recruit score at t_7 and the experienced officer score significant (although all veteran groups were significantly lower than the recruits at t_0). The overall decrease was primarily (but not totally) due to the decrease in the belief that the amount of the effort exerted would lead to valued outcomes -- rather than the slight decrease in the attractiveness of the five outcomes.

By source of outcome Shifting now to an examination of the three attitude measures (effort-outcome beliefs, outcome values and motivational force) in terms of the five sources of outcomes -- community, department, peers, supervisor and self -- it is possible to isolate some of the factors that lead to the changes discussed

FIGURE 3-3

MOTIVATIONAL FORCE



above. As Figure 3-4 indicates, the subjects' perceived the highest probability of effort leading to rewards supplied by the individual himself. Outcomes supplied by the Department and the supervisor both began relatively high but trailed-off significantly and rapidly during the first seven-months. These beliefs remained relatively low through the two-year period, however, the downward trend was offset by the groups representing five and ten-years of experience. Outcomes supplied by peers and the community were viewed as less strongly tied to the amount of effort exerted by the officers. Of the five outcomes, beliefs concerning effort leading to outcomes supplied by the community were the only ones not showing a statistically significant decrease during the first seven months on the job.

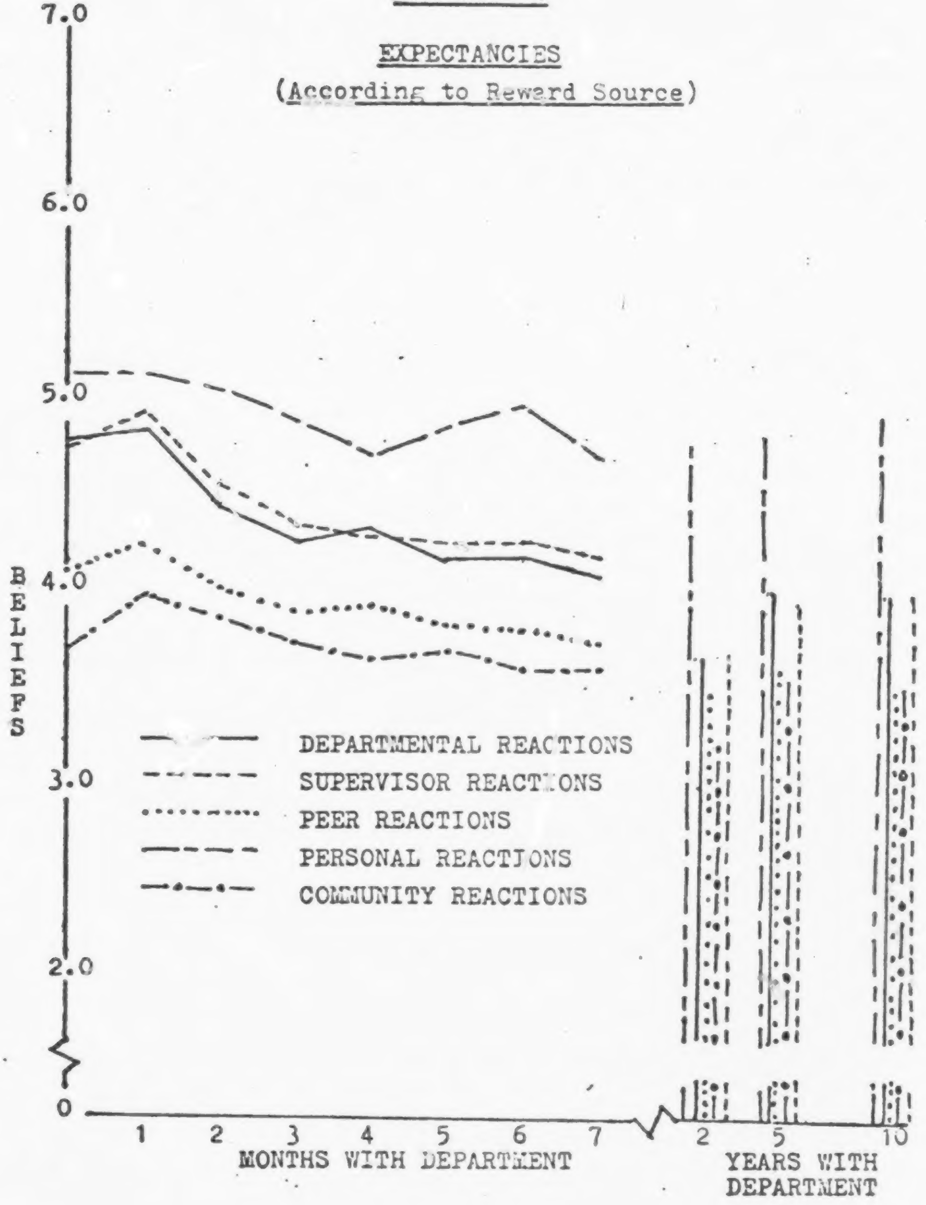
Regarding changes between the seventh month and the two-year experienced group, only reactions from fellow-workers and reactions from the community failed to show a significant decrease -- although all reward sources showed a significant decrease from the day-one sample. Differences among the experienced subjects did not display statistical significance.

The attractiveness values placed on personal reactions were consistently higher than the values placed on the other four sources of outcomes. Only the value placed on Departmental reactions changed significantly across time for the recruit sample. No significant changes were recorded between the experienced and

FIGURE 3-4

EXPECTANCIES

(According to Reward Source)



recruit groups. The lowest values were found with superior, fellow-worker and Departmental reactions. Yet, all five outcomes were evaluated relatively highly -- all remained above the positive 2.0 level on the -3.0 to +3.0 scale.

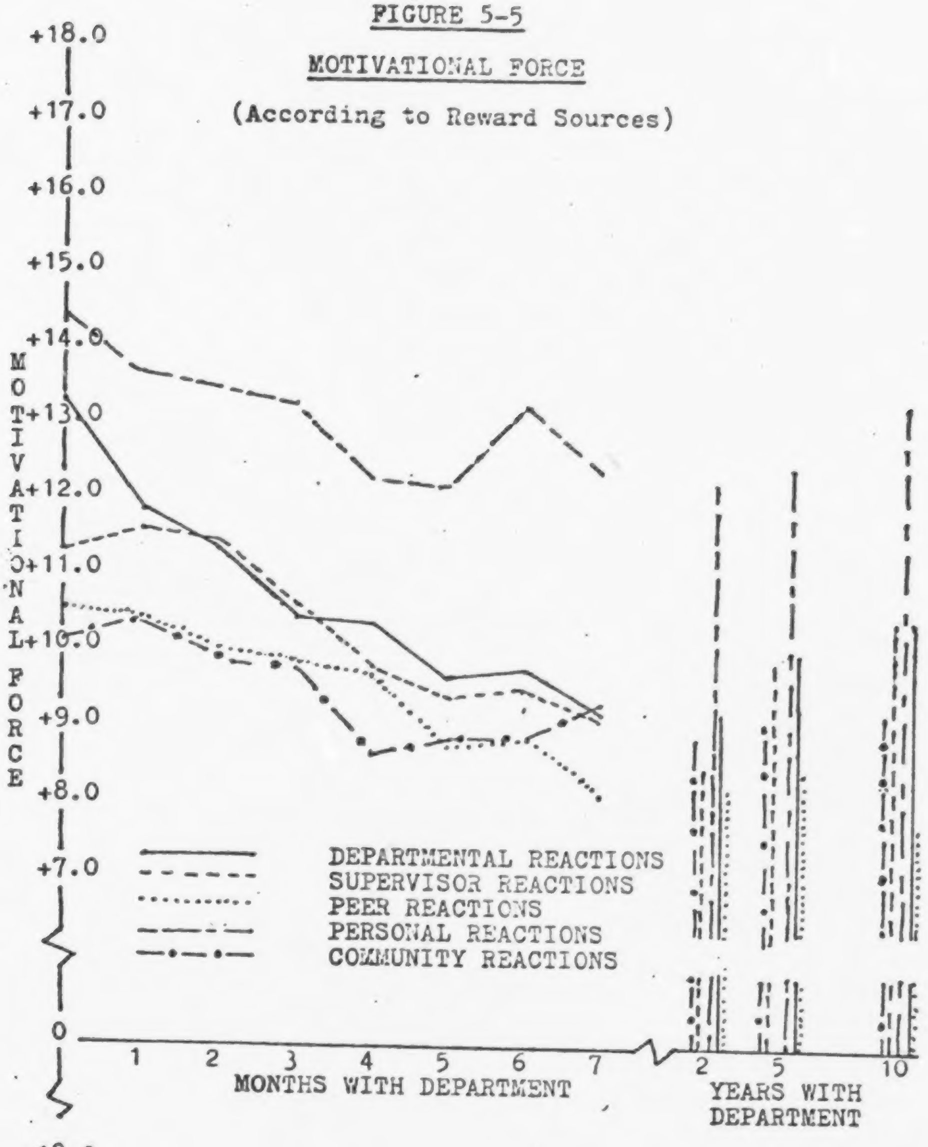
The relationships between the motivational force score and each of the five sources of outcomes were approximately the same as those for the belief scores. Again, personal reactions were associated with the highest values in terms of motivational force. Departmental reactions showed the sharpest decline. Reactions from peers received the smallest motivational force scores. Decreases in motivational force scores were similar to their expectancy scores for fellow-workers, supervisor and personal reactions. Community reactions showed the smallest decrease and failed to reach significance as did personal reactions. The decrease for the other three reward sources did reach statistical significance for the longitudinal sample. The experienced officer groups displayed motiviational force scores statistically different from the t_0 recruit sample, although not statistically different from the recruits at t_7. Figure 3-5 illustrates the motivational force patterns of the sample.

By activities. Turning now to look at two of the attitude measures in terms of the seven activities incorporated into the belief items -- field investigation, inspection, routine control, service, administrative, community relations and self-development

FIGURE 5-5

MOTIVATIONAL FORCE

(According to Reward Sources)



activities -- it is possible to determine which of the activity factors were the major contributors to the absolute level and the change-in-level reported for the expectancy means and the motivational force means. The subjects overwhelmingly selected field investigation activities as being most likely to lead to favorable responses. Administrative activities were perceived to be least likely to lead to positive outcomes. Self-development, inspection routine control and service activities were all closely grouped together but significantly below the level of field investigation activities. Community relations and self-developmental activities displayed the largest downward change in attitudes over the seven-month measurement period, while field investigation and service activities showed the smallest decline -- although all seven activities dropped significantly from the first day through t_7.[7]

The two-year cross-sectional group followed approximately the same belief pattern established by the recruit sample. However, service activities occupied the lowest expectancy position (service activities and routine control activities were the only ones significantly different from their respective values at t_7).

---

[7] Because of the number of activities (7), a graphic presentation of these results is not presented.

Following the pattern established throughout the analysis of this questionnaire, the more-experienced groups (five-year and ten-year groups) showed an increase in the belief that effort leads to positive responses over the two-year sample on all seven activities. However, the levels of the expectancies were still considerably below the attitudes reported by the recruits on their first day of work.

Regarding motivational force and the seven activities, the same basic pattern which characterized the belief profile holds. Field investigation activities continued to hold the top motivational force position for both the recruits and experienced officers. Service activities, routine control activities, inspection activities and administrative activities occupied the lowest motivational prepotency positions, while community relations activities and self-developmental activities held the middle group across most time periods. The decreases in levels of motivational force mirrowed approximately the changes recorded for the expectancy scores.

Relationships between Belief and Value Attitudes and Job Behavior Measures:

The relationship between the three attitude measures distilled from the questionnaire -- beliefs, values and motivational force -- and the performance and effort ratings made by the supervisors and the standardized Academy performance measures were ascertained by the use of correlation coefficients.[8]

The three attitude measures and the supervisors' evaluation of performance and effort showed a consistent pattern of low association throughout the time periods covered by this study. However, while most of the correlations did not reach the .05 level of significance, the directionality of the relationships illuminates some rather suprising results. As depicted in Table 3-2, the positive relationship between job attitudes and the evaluation of job performance on the street which was evident during the recruits' very early career stages (t_0 and t_1) vanished rapidly. In fact, as Figure 3-6 illustrates, the relationship became inverted with those recruits having the least favorable -- although possibly more realistic -- attitudes being rated as better performers in the field. Apparently, this indicates that those police officers who cling to high expectations and high values (over all categories) are least likely to be perceived as good performers in the field by their particular patrol sergeants.

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[8] Correlations termed significant in this section differ from zero at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 3-2

CORRELATIONS OF JOB-BEHAVIOR MEASURES AND JOB-ATTITUDES

A. CORRELATIONS OF JOB ATTITUDES AND SERGEANTS EVALUATION OF JOB PERFORMANCE IN THE FIELD

	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	2-Years
BELIEFS	.32*	.23	.05	.02	.01	.12	-.04	-.24	.05
VALUES	.20	.25	.09	-.14	.02	.03	.24*	-.53**	.09
MOTIVATIONAL FORCE	.36**	.21	.07	-.06	.04	.01	-.22*	-.41**	.06
N =	33	29	62	72	70	68	59	29	31

B. CORRELATIONS OF JOB ATTITUDES AND SERGEANTS EVALUATION OF AMOUNT OF EFFORT EXERTED IN THE FIELD

	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	2-Years
BELIEFS	.29*	.31*	.09	.05	.06	.02	.05	.00	.06
VALUES	.17	.14	-.04	-.09	.05	-.13	-.34**	-.28	.02
MOTIVATIONAL FORCE	.29*	.24	.02	-.02	.02	-.07	-.22*	-.09	.08
N =	33	29	62	72	70	68	59	29	31

C. CORRELATIONS OF JOB ATTITUDES AND ACADEMY RANKINGS OF PERFORMANCE

	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	2-Years	5-Years
BELIEFS	-.27*	-.30*	-.05	.03	-.03	.04	.11	.12	-.23	-.28
VALUES	.17	.08	.16	-.11	.10	-.15	.09	.07	-.05	-.09
MOTIVATIONAL FORCE	.00	-.11	.03	-.07	.02	-.12	.01	.01	-.14	-.30
N=	40	34	69	78	78	74	65	32	35	25

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*Significant at the 0.10 level of confidence

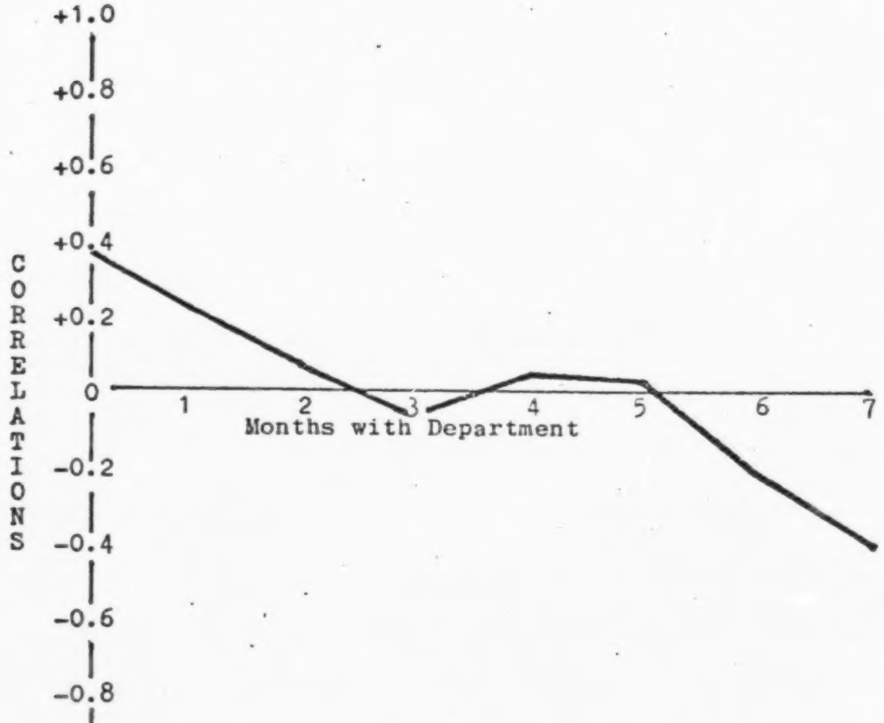
**Significant at the 0.05 level of confidence

***No Academy correlations are presented for the 10-year sample because of the small number of subjects in this group and because of the relatively small Academy classes in which these subjects participated. This omission will be continued on all similar tables which follow.

FIGURE 3-6

CORRELATIONS

(Motivational Force Scores and Sergeants' Evaluation of Job Performance Across Time -- Recruits)



Following the same pattern, the correlations between the superiors' ratings of effort in the field and the recruits' job attitudes show a deteriorating association -- moving from a positive relationship at t_0 and t_1, to a negative association at t_6 and t_7. As was the case for the correlation with the performance ratings, beliefs assessed at t_0 and t_1 were all positively -- if not significantly -- related to the ratings. Interestingly, beliefs assessed at t_6 and t_7 were not correlated as strongly with the ratings (effort and performance) as either the values the recruits' placed on the various outcomes or the overall motivational force scores.

When the recruit sample is divided into high (superior evaluations of 5 and above) and low (superior evaluations of 4 and below) rated groups, the dramatic shift in attitudes is readily apparent (see Figure 3-7). This trend is highly visible regardless of the type of behavior rated (performance or effort) or regardless of the particular set of attitudes being examined (belief, values or motivational force).

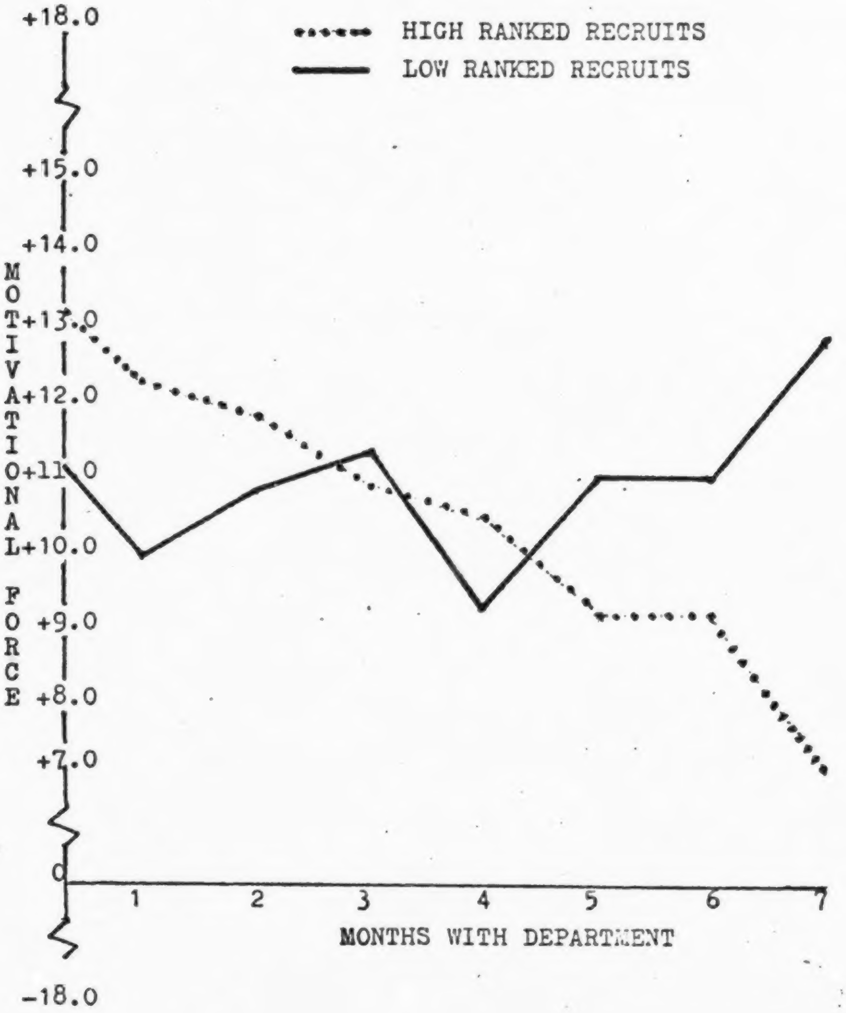
The correlation of superior ratings and the attitudes of the two-year experienced group (the only experienced group for which sergeant ratings were obtained) showed no significant correlations on either performance or effort evaluations. Typically, the correlations for this group were close to zero.

When the Academy rankings of performance are correlated with the beliefs of the recruit subjects, the direction of the above

FIGURE 3-7

MOTIVATIONAL FORCE COMPARISON

(High vs. Low Ranked Recruits: Sergeants' Evaluation of Job Performance)



trend is reversed. In other words, the recruit subjects with low effort-reward experiences early in their police experience (t_0 and t_1) are likely to be ranked higher in their respective Academy classes than those recruits' with more positive beliefs regarding effort leading to favorable rewards. However, this negative association fades considerably as the recruits move through their first seven months on the job. Yet, there is a slight indication (although not statistically significant)that the early trend showing a negative relationship between expectancies and Academy rank continues to exist at later periods in the police officers' career. The two-year and five-year experienced groups reported a negative correlation between expectancies and Academy rank.

Correlations between values and Academy rank or motivational force and Academy rank usually fell below those correlations obtained with the belief scores. This was true both of the experienced officer sample and the recruit sample.

Relationships between Belief and Value Attitudes and the Demographic Characteristics:

The relationships between the three summary attitude measures (beliefs, values and motivational force scores) and the various demographic characteristics (see Appendices C and D) were determined by use of correlation coefficients.[9] For the purpose of analyzing the recruit panel data, the coefficients were calculated separately at each investigated time period. For the experienced officers, the coefficients were based upon the combined responses of all subjects involved in the single administration portion of this research.

In general, the inspection of the demographic data indicated few characteristics were associated with expectations, values or motivational force scores reported by subjects. Those relationships which did appear occured early in a recruit's career and were short-lived, playing an insignificant role in the subject's attitude responses after he had accumulated several months of Departmental experience.[10]

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[9] The Pearsonian correlation was used in most cases. However, where called for, a point-biserial or biserial coefficient was calculated. The significance of the correlations were determined by t-tests at the .05 level-of confidence -- unless otherwise indicated.

[10] As discussed in Chapter II, an item designated "desired rank" or "level of aspiration" (see Appendices C and D for full discussion of this variable) was included on the demographic instrument. This item was the only one on the questionnaire which appeared to be related to the subjects' motivational attitudes across time. The pattern of association went from a positive relationship at t_0 and t_1 to a negative relationship at t_6 and t_7. However, intuitively there is a marked similarity between one's level of aspiration and one's motivational attitudes. Consequently, it is difficult to single out this finding as of more than passing interest.

D. Organizational Commitment Questionnaire

Changes over Time:

The Organizational Commitment Questionnaire was the only instrument used in this study which seemingly tapped attitude changes attributable directly to the turbulant departmental environment. It was noted in a preceding section of this chapter that the subjects in the longitudinal portion of this study displayed a significantly high-level of organizational commitment prior to the policy revisions than immediately following the departmental policy changes. However, as it was pointed out, the "shake-up" in the chain of command and the internally-controversial orders which followed, accounted for only about twenty-percent of the overall variance in the fluctuation of the recruit subjects' commitment levels. Hence, this section will explore the general organizational commitment trends displayed by the Union City officers over the time period covered by this study and will ignore, for the most part, the change in commitment scores attributable to the chaos which existed for a brief period in the department.

Figure 3-8 demonstrates a significant decrease in organizational commitment for the recruit subjects across time.[11] This decrease

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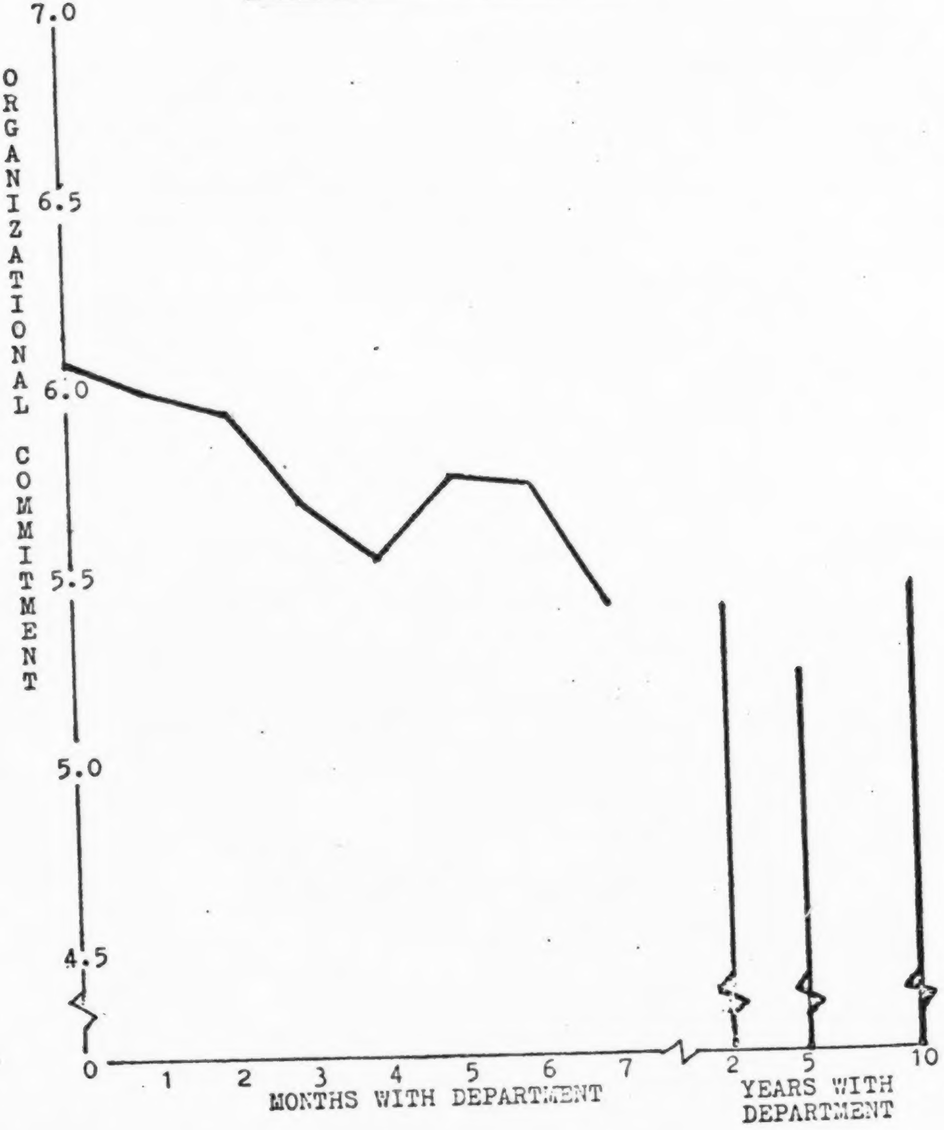
[11] The test for significance on the longitudinal data was made by using an analysis of variance F-test at the .05 level.

FIGURE 3-8

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT



is relatively constant except for the small, non-significant increase reported at t_5. The slight positive jump at t_5 can be accounted for by the inclusion of Group 1 subjects at t_5 who had yet to experience the impending organizational disruption. The experienced officer groups all had mean commitment scores different significantly from the recruit scores at t_0 -- although none of the veteran officer group means were significantly lower than the recruit scores reported after t_2.[12]

The falling pattern in organizational commitment scores appears to be somewhat offset by the tenth year, however, when the sergeants' scores are eliminated for the ten-year group, the mean of their commitment scores becomes slightly lower than the five year group. While it can not be proven conclusively here, it is likely that the commitment attitudes expressed by the experienced officers would be even lower if it were not for the probable turnover of those persons least committed to the organiation. In other words, the least commited persons may be assumed to have already left the organization.

Relationship between Organizational Commitment and Job Behavior Measures:

Organizational commitment scores and the Patrol Sergeants' evaluations of job performance in the field showed a uniform, positive relationship across all examined time periods.[13] Furthermore, the correlations recorded at t_3, t_4 and t_5 all reached a statistically significant level of association (see Table 3-3). These coefficients correspond generally to the periods following a recruit's introduction to the "street". The same positive relationship holds for the correlation of the sergeants' evaluations of effort exerted in the field and the recruits' commitment. In fact, the association appears to be somewhat stronger than the performance measure. As Figure 3-9 shows, the relationship is most closely tied to the time periods following the officers' early "street" experiences (with his FTO partner). Hence, those recruits' who reported being more committed to the organization were more likely to be perceived as better police officers by their immediate supervisors than those recruits' less committed to the organization. Figure 3-10 illustrates the mean commitment scores for the high and low rated subjects regarding their supervisors' evaluation of effort exerted in the field.

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[12] For the cross-sectional groups, tests of significance were made by using t-test at the .05 level.

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[13] Correlations termed significant in this section differ from zero at the .05 level of confidence.

TABLE 3-3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN JOB-BEHAVIOR MEASURES AND ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT

		t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	2-years	5-years
Performance Ratings		.05	.24	.18	.30**	.30**	.32**	.07	.19	.26	NA
	N=	33	29	62	72	70	67	57	28	32	
Effort Ratings		.06	.28	23*	.41**	.37**	.27**	.17	.21	.13	NA
	N=	33	29	62	72	70	67	57	28	32	
Academy Ratings		-.24	-.21	-.21	-.07	-.09	-.07	.10	.29	-.23	.01
	N=	40	34	69	78	78	74	65	32	35	

* Significant at the 0.10 level of confidence
** Significant at the 0.05 level of confidence

FIGURE 3-9

CORRELATIONS

(Organizational Commitment Scores and Sergeants' Evaluation of Job Effort Across Time -- Recruits)

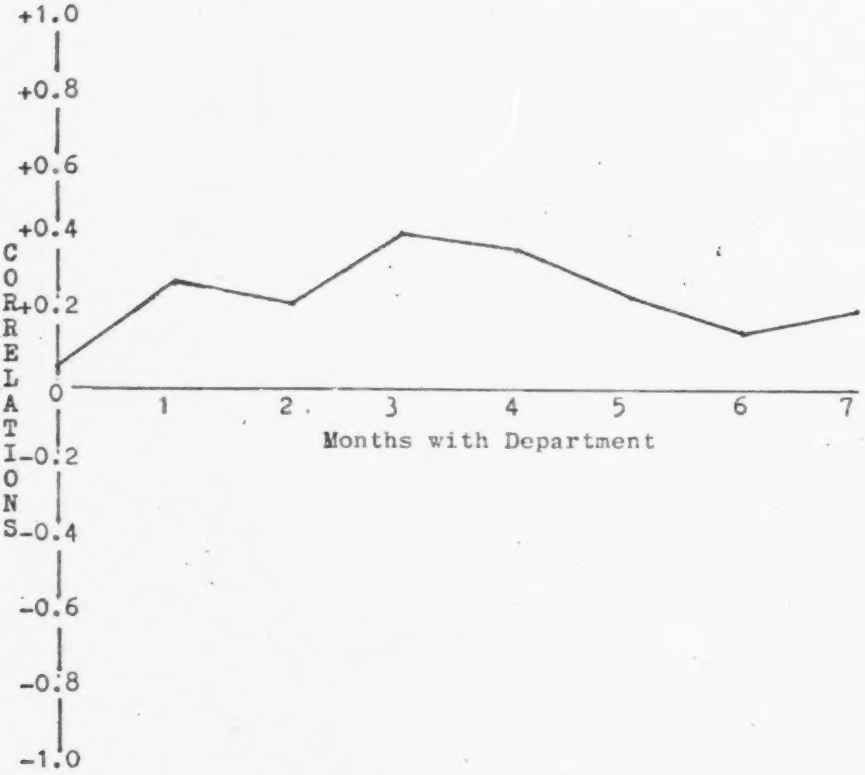
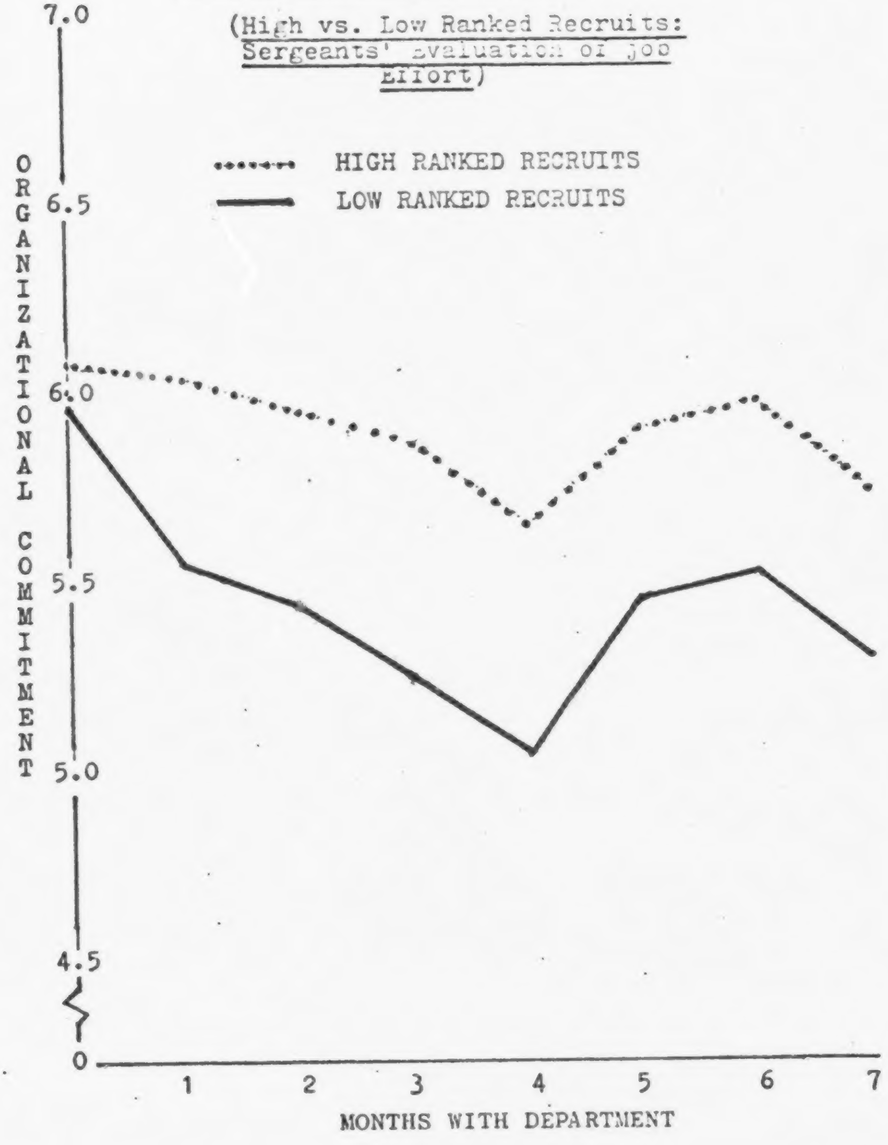


FIGURE 3-10

ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT COMPARISON

(High vs. Low Ranked Recruits: Sergeants' Evaluation of Job Effort)



The relationship between Academy performance and organizational commitment did not reach significance at any of the particular time periods. However, the directionality between the two variables seems to suggest that, if anything, those recruits who are in the Academy stage of training and are doing well "academically" are likely to have a lower commitment to the organization than those recruits who are doing less well. This trend fades as many of the high-ranked recruits' appear to undergo attitude changes after the Academy and become more committed to the organization.

Relationships between Organizational Commitment and Demographic Characteristics:

As with the Motivational Force Questionnaire, the relationships between the various demographic characteristics of the sample and the organizational commitment measure were investigated by the use of correlation coefficients.[14] Again, correlations were calculated for each time period for the longitudinal subjects, while the coefficients applicable to the veteran officers were based upon the combined responses of all subjects' involved in the single administration.

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[14] The Pearsonian coreelation coefficient was used in most cases. However, where appropriate, either the biserial or point-biserial coefficient was used. The significance of the coefficients was tested via the t statistic and correlations termed significant differed from zero at the .05 level of confidence unless otherwise indicated.

Similar to the motivational force analysis, the demographic characteristics of the recruits and veteran officers did not appear to be related consequentially to the level of organizational commitment reported by the officers. The few demographic factors that did indicate some association with the commitment attitudes lasted a short period -- occuring early in a recruits' career (i.e., t_0 or t_1) and then fading. Only in the cases of marital status and "level-of-aspiration" did positive correlational relationships persist.

E. Need Satisfaction Questionnaire

As delineated in the preceding chapter, this questionnaire was designed to tap three conceptually distinct attitude areas -- need fulfillment, need importance and need dissatisfaction. Consequently, summary statistics were calculated for the three dimensions on both: (1) all the need-related items in combination, and (2) the cluster of items representing each of the five particular needs (i.e., security, social, esteem, autonomy and self-actualization needs). Corresponding to each of the above 18 categories, sets of summary statistics included scores for the eight administration periods associated with the recruit sample and for the single administration period associated with the experienced officer sample. In all, there were 198 separate scores which comprised the baseline date for this questionnaire. Additionally, for each of the 198 measures, a correlational examination was conducted to explore the possible relationships with both the job behavior and demographic data. Clearly, it would be impossible to document fully the results of this analysis without expanding preposterously the length of this report. Thus, the following presentation represents only a broad description of the full inquiry.

As with the preceding sections of this chapter, the following results are organized into three major areas: (1) changes in need satisfaction attitudes across time; (2) relationships between need satisfaction attitudes and job behavior measures; and (3) relationships between need satisfaction attitudes and demographic variables. Additionally, the three factors of the need satisfaction instrument (i.e., need fulfillment, need importance and need dissatisfaction) are discussed separately under each heading.

Changes Across Time:

Need Fulfillment. When all 13 needs were combined, the recruits' response pattern showed a significant increase in the level of fulfillment from t_0 and t_7.[15] As Figure 3-11 illustrates, the recruits' reported their lowest level of fulfillment during their early classroom training period and their highest level of fulfillment during their first few months on the "street" (in the FTO

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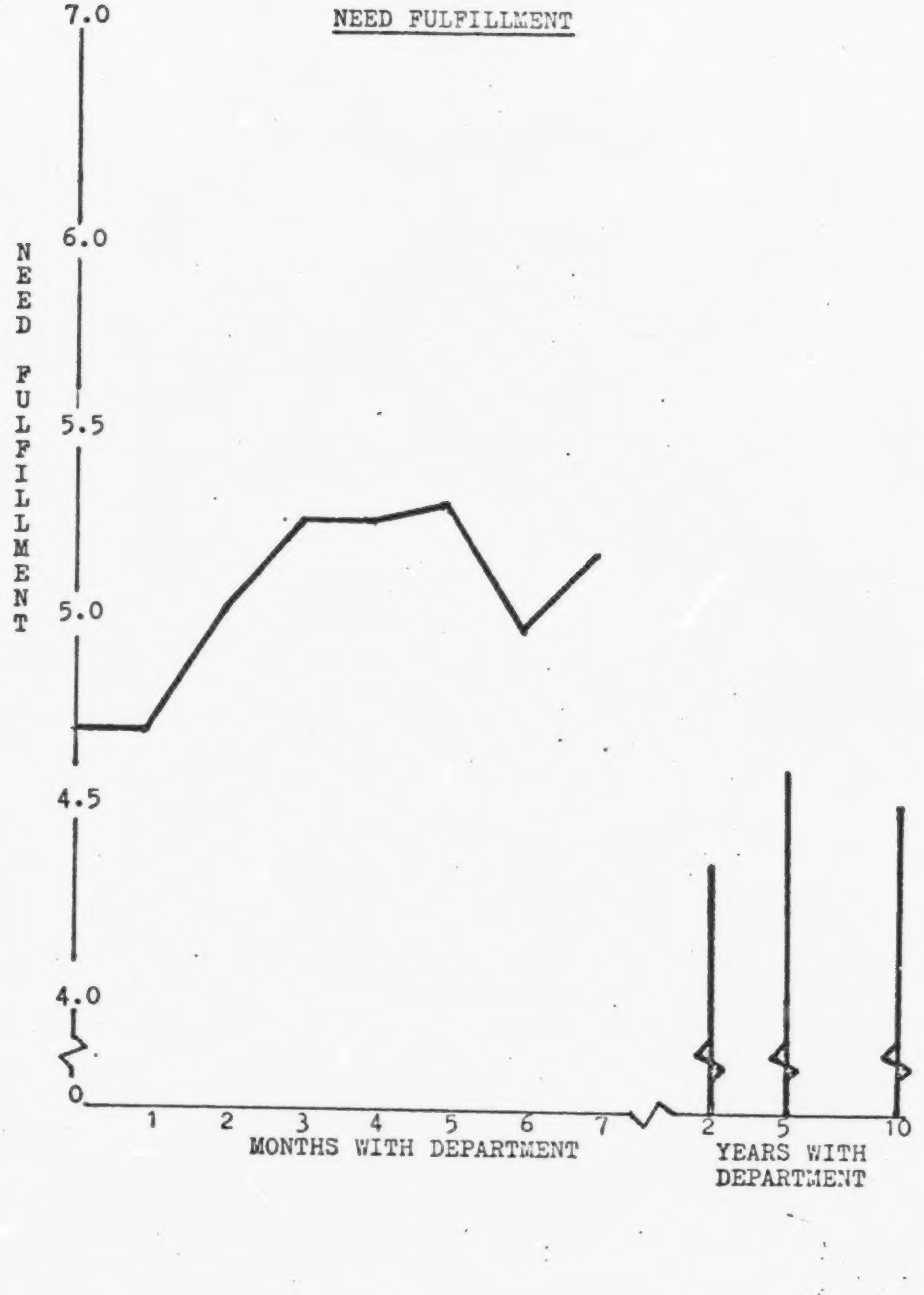
[15] For the analysis of this questionnaire, all tests of significance for the longitudinal sample were made by using the analysis of variance test at the .05 confidence level. For the cross-sectional groups, t-tests at the .05 level were used to test differences between sample groups.

FIGURE 3-11

NEED FULFILLMENT



phase of training). However, the veteran officers' responses indicated the fulfillment expressed by the recruits was relatively short-lived. While the mean scores for all experienced groups fell significantly below the levels established by the recruits at t_3 through t_7, they were not significantly lower than the entering attitudes of the recruits (t_0, t_1 or t_2).

When the total scores are divided into their component parts, it is apparent the changes in the recruits' reported fulfillment levels were attributable largely to the significant increases in the security, autonomy and esteem categories. Only the recruits' self-actualization attitudes failed to increase across time. Depicted in Figure -12 is the relative level of fulfillment of each need vis-a-vis the others. As shown, the recruits' viewed their social and self-actualization needs as those which were most fulfilled. The esteem and autonomy needs were seen as least fulfilled.

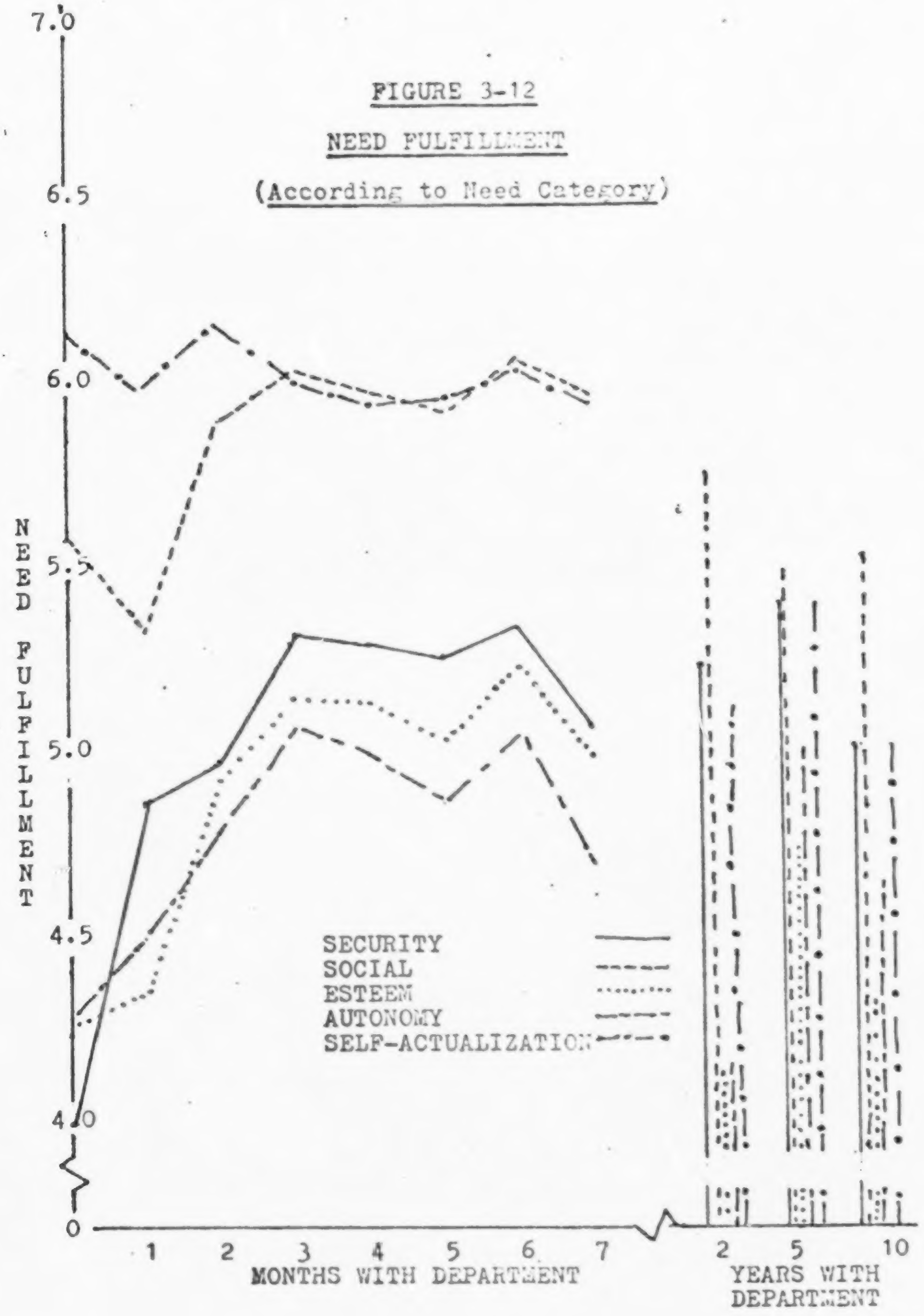
Essentially, a similar pattern of need fulfillment was reported by the experienced officers. One exception, however, was a shift downward in the fulfillment of self-actualization needs leaving the social needs as the most fulfilled. Again, esteem and autonomy needs were perceived as being the least fulfilled.

Need Importance. The importance attached by the subjects to the cluster of all needs representing the five categories remained virtually stable across all investigated time periods. Although the experienced officers' reported somewhat lower levels of need

FIGURE 3-12

NEED FULFILLMENT

(According to Need Category)



importance, in no case did the decrease represent a statistically significant departure from the attitudes expressed by the recruits. Figure 3-13 presents this persistent response pattern.

When these attitudes are broken-down into the five need categories, again no significant changes are detected among any of the need areas -- for either the recruits or the experienced officers. Yet, as Figure 3-14 points out, the subjects' reported consistent differences in the levels of importance they attached to the various needs. Generally, the recruits' viewed the self-actualizing dimension as the most important. This was followed closely by the social and security categories. Least important to the recruits were the autonomy and esteem variables. The need ordering was essentially the same for the veteran officers -- although security became relatively more important and challenged the self-actualization needs as the attitude area of foremost importance.

Need Dissatisfaction. The expressed level of dissatisfaction related to all 13 needs also remained relatively constant across time. Recruits appeared most dissatisfied during their early Academy training and least dissatisfied during their early field experiences. However, the difference between the highest and lowest levels of dissatisfaction did not reach statistical significance. As Figure 3-15 delineates, the experienced officers reported fairly large differences between levels of dissatisfaction -- with the 5-year veterans reporting less need dissatisfaction than either

FIGURE 3-13

NEED IMPORTANCE

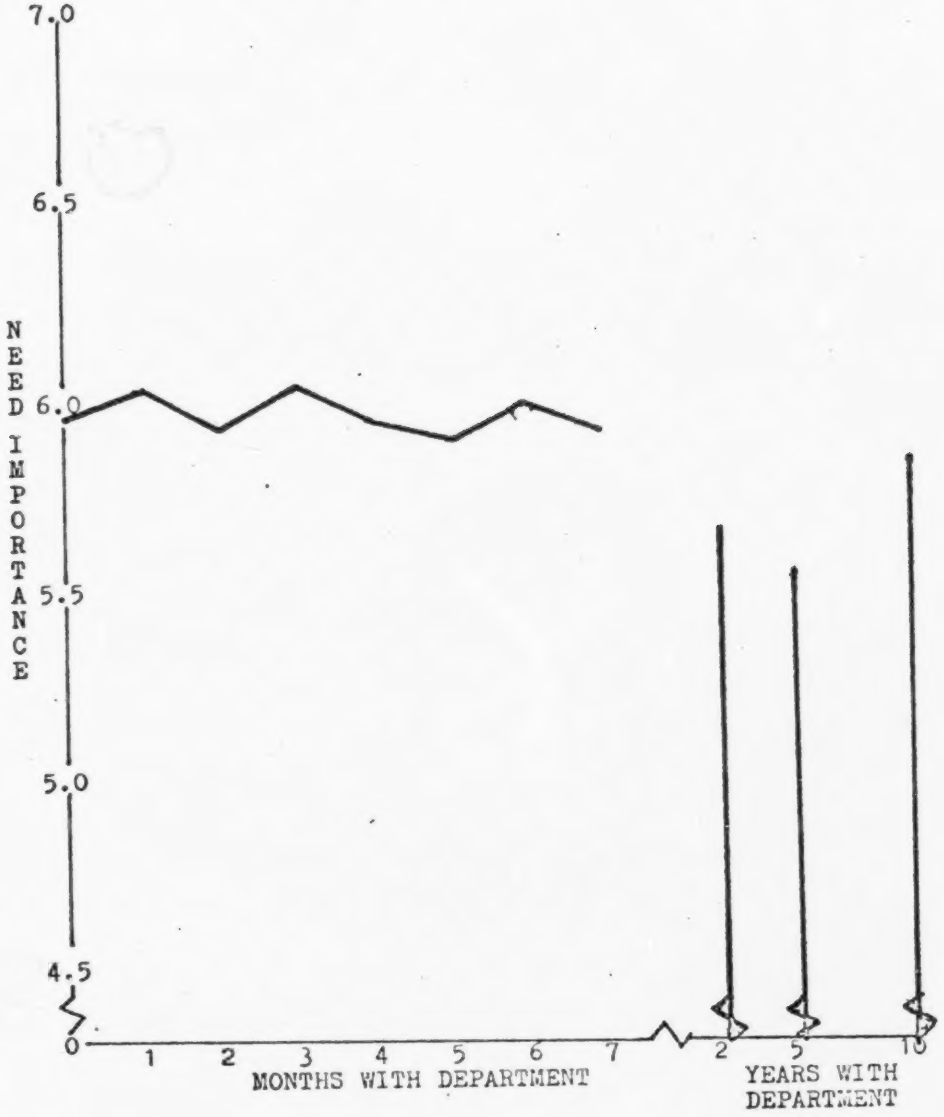


FIGURE 3-14

NEED IMPORTANCE

(According to Need Category)

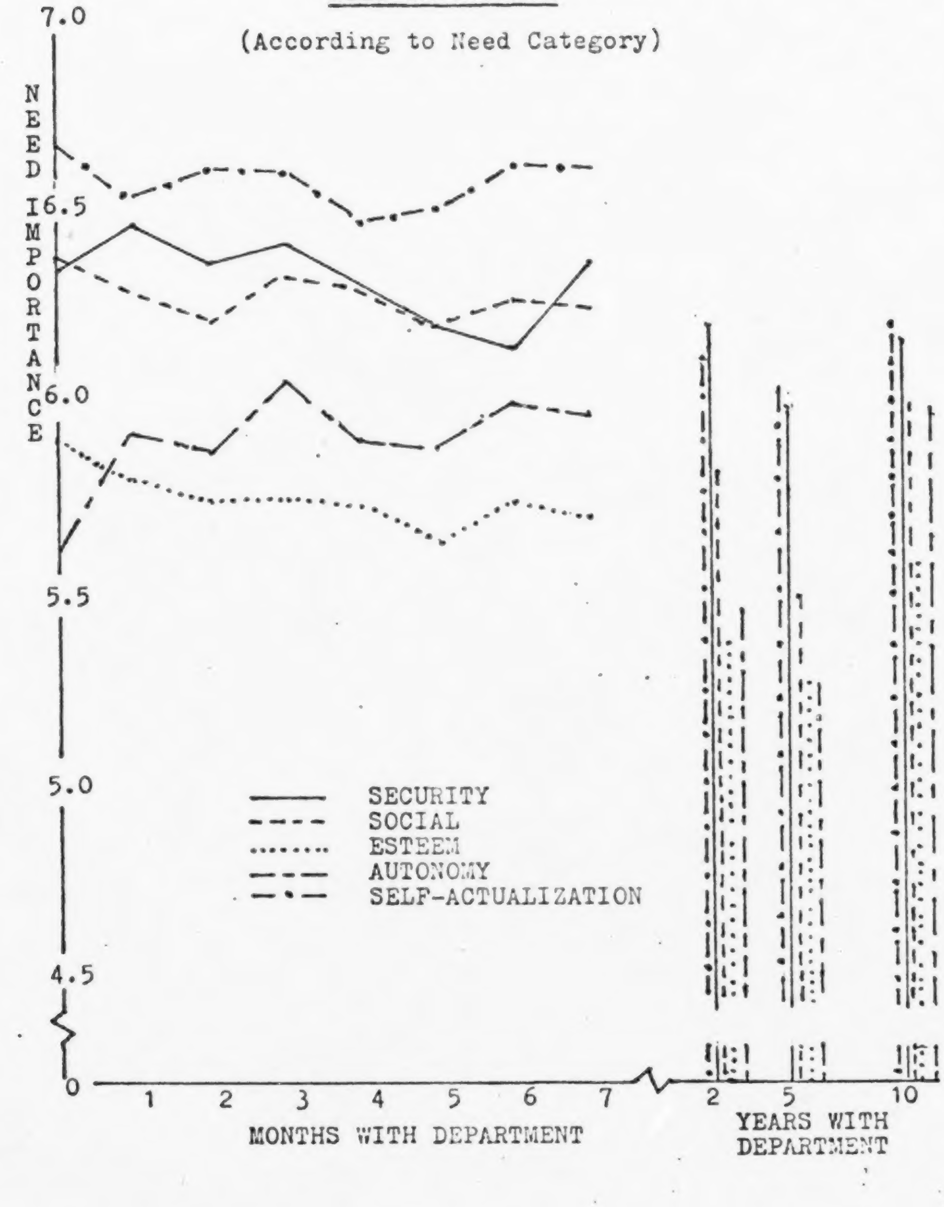
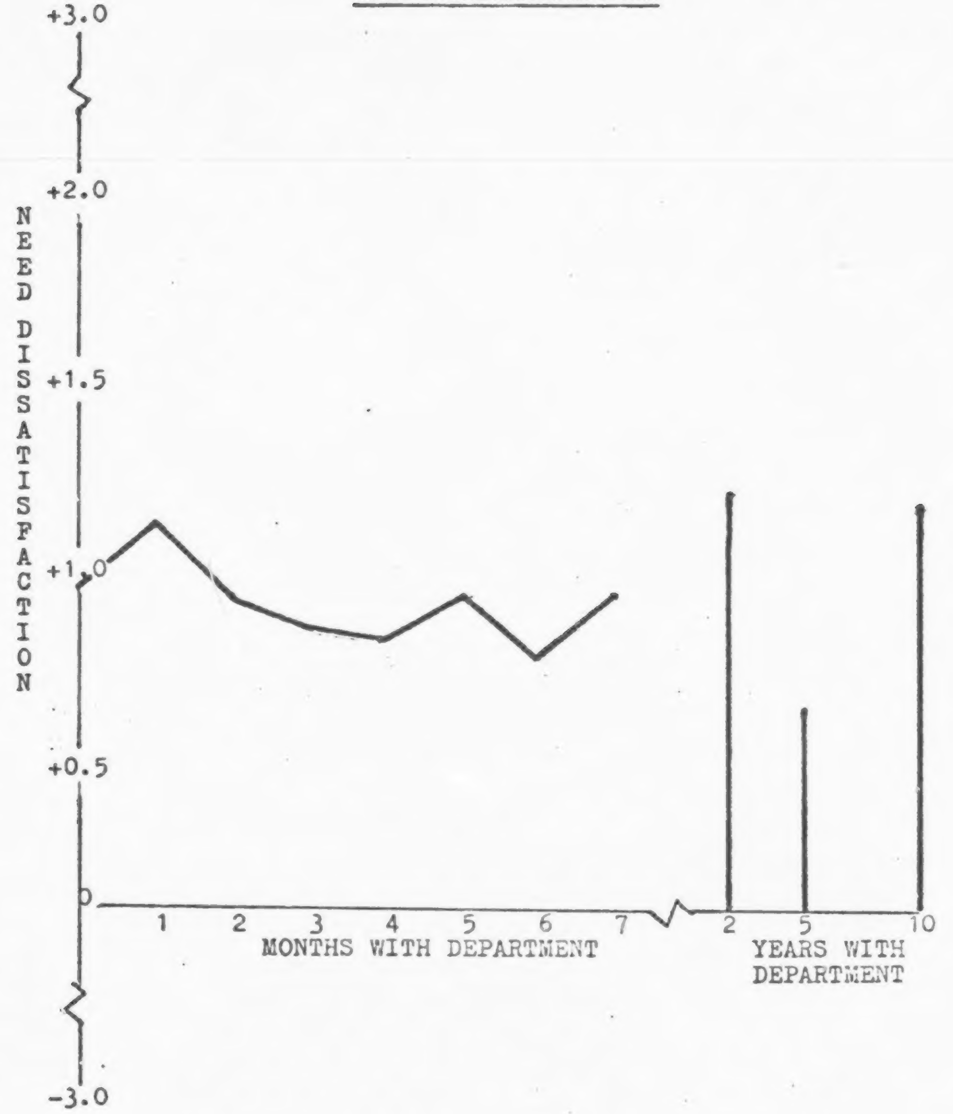


FIGURE 3-15

NEED DISSATISFACTION



the 2-year or 10-year groups (significant at the .10 level). However, the relatively low level of dissatisfaction of the 5-year group was only statistically different from one set of recruit responses -- t_1 at the .10 level.

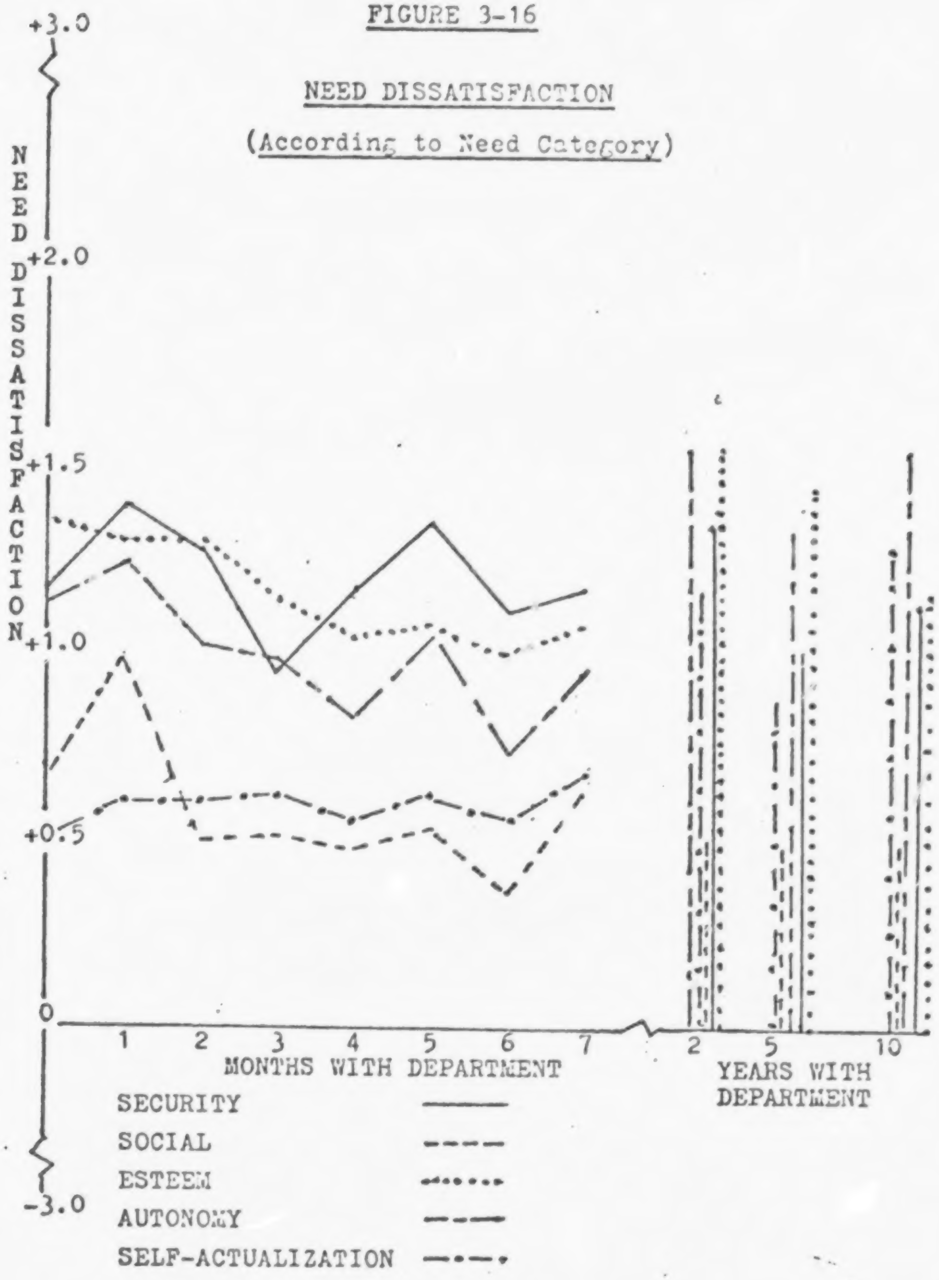
The response patterns of the neophyte and veteran officer groups for each of the five needs is shown in Figure 3-16. As illustrated, the officers were most dissatisfied with their perceived amounts of esteem, security and autonomy. The subjects were least dissatisfied with the social and self-actualization aspects of their occupation. The experienced officers' expressed somewhat more dissatisfaction in the need categories of esteem, autonomy and self-actualization than the recruits at t_0 through t_7. Yet, these differences were generally not of sufficient magnitude to reach significance.

In summary, a rather uniform attitude picture was present in the distribution of responses to the need satisfaction instrument. Although the importance of the needs to the recruits remained statistically stable, they viewed their Academy training as considerably less fulfilling and slightly less satisfying compared to their early "street" experiences. The experienced officers, with the possible exception of the 5-year group, reported a rather salient decline in fulfillment and satisfaction when contrasted to the recruit responses. Only the importance of the needs remained approximately at the same level for both newcomers and experienced officers.

FIGURE 3-16

NEED DISSATISFACTION

(According to Need Category)



When the needs were examined individually, the self-actualization and social clusters were viewed as the least dissatisfying. Most dissatisfaction was indicated with the fulfillment of the officers' esteem and autonomy needs -- although these were considered to be least important. Expressed fulfillment and satisfaction with the security need represented a somewhat paradoxical situation. While the level of fulfillment increased significantly across time, the relatively high dissatisfaction measurement remained unchanged -- as did the importance attached to the particular need. Apparently, with each increment of fulfillment, the subjects' increased concomitantly the desire for security. The same situation was present for the esteem needs, although to a lesser extent.

Relationships between Need Satisfaction Attitudes and Job Behavior Measures:

Need Fulfillment. Essentially, there was no appreciable relationship between the subjects' expressed levels of need fulfillment and their two field evaluations (performance and effort). As Table 3-4 indicates, only 2 of the 18 correlations reached significant levels -- although most were positive.[16]

Looking at the component needs which comprised the fulfillment portion of the questionnaire, a similar pattern of non-association was found. Three of the five need categories showed virtually no relationship with the supervisors' evaluations (esteem, autonomy and self-actualization). However, there was a slight, but noticeable relationship between the two ratings and the expressed fulfillment of security and social needs. In the first case, those recruits and veteran officers who reported lower levels of security fulfillment tended to be given higher effort and performance ratings. In the second case, those recruits and experienced officers who expressed higher levels of social need fulfillment tended to have higher effort and performance evaluations.

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[16] The correlations reported here were calculated and tested for significance in the same manner as they were in the preceding sections (see Footnote 8 of this chapter).

When the Academy rankings were correlated with total need fulfillment scores, an enduring and negative relationship was readily visible. Table 3-4 suggests that those recruits and veteran officers who did well during their formal Academy training were more likely to express lower levels of fulfillment than those officers who did less well in the Academy. In terms of specific needs, four of the five were associated in a negative direction with Academy rankings (although, in most cases, the magnitude of the correlations was small relative to the statistics based upon the total scores). Only self-actualization attitudes were related in a positive direction with the Academy standings.

Need Importance. The relationships between the sergeants' ratings of effort and performance and the importance the subjects' placed on all needs demonstrated a rather interesting pattern. For

TABLE 3-4

CORRELATIONS OF JOB BEHAVIOR MEASURES AND JOB ATTITUDES

A. CORRELATIONS OF JOB ATTITUDES AND SERGEANTS EVALUATION OF JOB PERFORMANCE IN THE FIELD

	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	2-Years
NEED FULFILLMENT	-.03	.02	-.10	.10	.18	.30**	-.08	.12	.24
NEED IMPORTANCE	.16	.02	.05	-.18	-.11	-.16	-.32**	-.35**	-.11
NEED DISSATISFACTION	-.02	-.19	.13	.19*	-.25**	-.41**	-.33**	-.56**	-.20
N =	33	28	61	72	66	68	59	29	31

B. CORRELATIONS OF JOB ATTITUDES AND SERGEANTS EVALUATION OF AMOUNT OF EFFORT EXERTED IN THE FIELD

	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	2-Years
NEED FULFILLMENT	.10	.27*	.08	.09	.12	.18	-.09	.08	.21
NEED IMPORTANCE	.33*	.11	.14	-.03	-.18	-.15	-.33**	-.37**	-.07
NEED DISSATISFACTION	.05	-.11	.01	-.15	-.25**	-.25**	-.28**	-.48**	-.24*
N =	33	28	61	72	66	68	59	29	31

C. CORRELATIONS OF JOB ATTITUDES AND ACADEMY RANKINGS OF PERFORMANCE

	t_0	t_1	t_2	t_3	t_4	t_5	t_6	t_7	2-Years	5-Years
NEED FULFILLMENT	-.05	.04	-.28**	.11	-.33**	-.31**	-.18	.02	-.26*	-.23
NEED IMPORTANCE	-.10	-.13	-.19*	-.21*	-.28**	-.33**	-.21*	-.18	-.26*	-.11
NEED DISSATISFACTION	-.01	-.08	.29**	.07	.31**	-.19*	.07	-.14	.20	-.23
N =	40	34	69	78	78	74	65	32	35	25

---

* Significant at the .10 level of confidence

** Significant at the .05 level of confidence both evaluations, the associated correlations moved from a positive value during the early months of the recruits' careers to a negative value in the later months (see Table 3-4). Apparently, for those subjects who were favorably rated by their respective field supervisors, the importance of the various needs decreased over time. Furthermore, the negative association between the ratings and need importance attitudes carried over to the experienced officer sample -- although the absolute value of the correlation was considerably less than the t_3 through t_7 correlations.

It appeared the above summated attitudes were most affected by the changes in the importance attached to the esteem and autonomy needs. The recruits' demonstrated striking attitude shifts between t_0 and t_7. Evidently, the high rated recruits originally entered the Department valuing both esteem and autonomy, however, they came to place less importance on these elusive needs as time progressed. No significant changes were detected for the security, social and self-actualization needs, nor were the correlations attached to these three categories consistent in direction.

When the Academy rankings were correlated with the need importance attitudes, a clear negative relationship was found (see Table 3-4). Over half the correlations were significant at the .10 level or better and the remaining correlations were all in the same direction. Hence, there was a positive likelihood that those who did well in the training Academy placed less importance upon the various needs than those who did less well. Again, the esteem and autonomy needs appeared to contribute most heavily to the negative relationship. However, all needs were associated generally with negative loadings across all time periods.

Need Dissatisfaction. Of the three separate measurements linked to the questionnaire, need dissatisfaction showed the strongest and most consistent relationship with the field evaluations. Of the 18 separate correlations, 10 were significant at the .10 level or better. The persistent association is negative indicating the higher-rated subjects were less dissatisfied than the lower-rated subjects. Figure 3-17 illustrates the relationship by plotting the high and low performance groups. A similar pattern existed for the high and low effort groups.

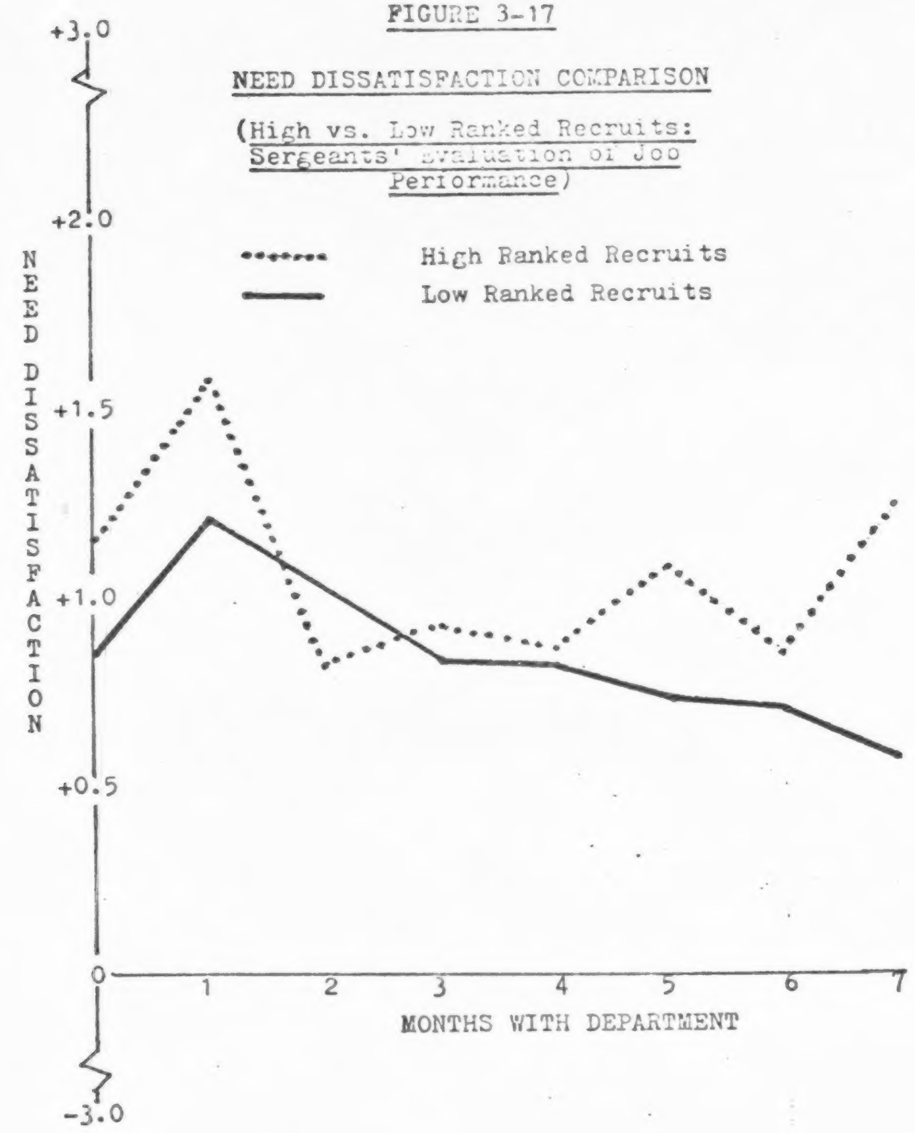
The examination of the individual parts of the dissatisfaction index revealed that none of the isolated needs were related significantly to the ratings. However, most correlations were negatively associated with the superiors' evaluations.

The total level of dissatisfaction expressed by both recruits and experienced officers was related generally in a positive manner to the Academy rankings -- although the association measures fluctuated widely. Apparently, the subjects who were judged as high performers in the Academy were more likely to be dissatisfied than those individuals who were low performers. The correlations associated with each of the five need categories showed little stability and were usually of low magnitude.

FIGURE 3-17

NEED DISSATISFACTION COMPARISON

(High vs. Low Ranked Recruits:
Sergeants' Evaluation of Job
Performance)



In summary, need dissatisfaction was most related to the field ratings of the officers' performance and effort. More so than either the subjects' expressed fulfillment or importance, dissatisfaction attitudes give an indication of how well the individual is doing from the departmental perspective. Generally, the more dissatisfied the person, the lower his field ratings.

Somewhat surprisingly, the importance placed by the subjects upon the sum total of the 13 needs was associated with both superior ratings in a dynamic fashion. During their first few months on the job, the high-rated officers had a tendency to place more value upon the needs than their low-rated counterparts. Yet, this positive relationship changed dramatically as the subjects moved into the "street" -- with the association becoming negative by the third month.

There was little sign of association between the expressed absolute level of fulfillment and the field evaluations. In short, it was the dissatisfaction index, based upon the relative level of need fulfillment which was the most powerful predictor of the evaluations.

The rankings of the subjects' performance in the training Academy were negatively related to the absolute level of fulfillment and the importance of the total needs. At the same time, there was a positive relationship detected between the class rankings and the dissatisfaction measure.

When the total need fulfillment, importance or dissatisfaction scores were reduced and divided into their five component parts, none of the individual needs, taken alone, produced as high levels of association with the job behavior measures as the summated scores. However, as noted, some individual need categories were related -- albeit weakly -- to the behavior indices.

Relationships between Need Satisfaction Attitudes and the Demographic Characteristics:

The examination of the relationships between the demographic variables and the various parts of the need satisfaction questionnaire was conducted simply by a straight-forward analysis of the correlation coefficients.[17] As described in earlier sections, the coefficients for the longitudinal sample were calculated at each time period (t_0 through t_7) on each of the relevant satisfaction measures. Again, the coefficients for the experienced officer groups were based upon the combined responses of all veteran subjects.

As was true with the other instruments, a very small percentage of the total relationships examined reached statistical significance. Typically, the few demographic variables which appeared to be associated with the attitudes were limited to the time periods representing the early career phase -- fading into relative obscurity with the passage of time and the recruits' resulting accumulation of departmental experience (e.g., at t_0 and t_1, the subjects with experience in more prestigous occupations were likely to express greater dissatisfaction with the security and esteem areas than the recruits with less prestigous occupational histories. However, the association did not last past t_3. A similar situation was visible for the "level-of-education" variable and dissatisfaction).

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[17] In most cases, the Pearsonian correlation coefficient was used. However, when appropriate, a point-biserial or biserial coefficient was calculated. Tests of significance were based, unless otherwise specified, upon the .05 level.

F. Post Script: Interrelationships

Despite the foregoing general findings, there still remain several unanswered questions pertaining to the interrelationships among the many variables of interest in this research. First, it is not clear whether or not any association existed between the demographic factors and the three job behavior measures. Up to this point, the investigation has focused strictly upon the association between attitudes and behavior. When the demographic features of the sample were examined, the unstated assumption was that the background characteristics were related to job behavior only via the modifier role they might play upon the attitudes. The first part of this section presents briefly the results of an analysis of the relationship (or lack of relationship) between the demographic variables and the job behavior indices. Second, the findings reported thus far have not indicated the manner in which the responses to the questionnaire measures were interrelated. While the validity of such comparisons can be questioned seriously on methodological grounds, it seemed worthwhile to provide the reader with an idea of how the attitude measures "went together".[18] Consequently, the second part of this section examines the interrelationships among the various parts of the three attitude questionnaires.

Of all the demographic characteristics, only the military experience variable was significantly related to the job behavior evaluations made by the patrol sergeants regarding the recruits' field performance. For the neophytes, the positive point-biserial correlation between the two variables indicated that those who served in the military were more likely to be evaluated as better performers than those recruits without military service. However, since almost 80-percent of the recruits' reported having been in the military, this finding is of little interest. It appears the background characteristics -- when taken in isolation -- were not associated in any important manner with the performance and effort evaluations.

In an attempt to search out any possible additive effects the demographic variables may have had in combination on either of the two ratings, a stepwise multiple regression analysis was performed using each subjects' ranking as the criterion variable. In all, seven independent variables were selected to be included in the regressions (age, educational level, prior occupation, father's occupation, military experience, prior police experience and rank aspiration). Separate samples drawn from those subjects' reporting at t_0, t_2, t_4, t_6, and two-years were used for each analysis. None of the regressions yielded a significant F-ratio, nor were able to account for much of the variance on the dependent variable (i.e., rating of either performance or effort). Thus, even when the "effects" of more than one demographic variable were allowed, there was no relationship between background characteristics and superior ratings.

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[18] The most important issue raised by this type of analysis concerns the absence of an independent measurement on any of the correlated questionnaire measures. Even if the various indices were perfectly reliable measures of the underlying variables -- which they clearly are not -- any inference about the relationships among measures must necessarily be based upon the comparison of responses from the same subject. Consequently, such comparisons are subject to unanswerable validity questions revolving about the presence or absence of instrument and individual biases.

The correlations between the recruits' performance in the Academy and the various demographic factors were also low. While none of the regressions (using Academy rank as the criterion) suggested an important relationship, a positive association was observed for the variables representing educational level and prior police experience. However, such correlations should not be surprising in light of the construction of the Academy rank -- based entirely upon the results of periodic examinations stressing federal, state and local laws, traffic regulations, first aid, police procedures, and so on. Thus, those subjects with more education apparently had less difficulty absorbing and feeding-back information presented in the classroom than those with less education. Similarly, those officers with previous police experience (hence, exposed to much of the material presented in the Academy prior to entering the Union City Department) had less difficulty in the classroom than those without such experience.

While a few demographic variables were associated with the job behavior measures, such relationships were, at best, only marginal and largely devoid of theoretical import. Consequently, there is no basis to assert that the background variables possessed by police recruits were important determinants of their consequent job behavior -- as measured by sergeant evaluations.

Examining the plethora of interrelationships among the various attitude measures used in this study, the recruit sample showed considerably less congruence among their attitudes than the veteran officers. Tables 3-5 and 3-6 illustrate the interrelationships between the major attitude variables used in this study. Consequently, as the officers moved through the stages of a police career, their job attitudes associated with the dimensions examined in this study were likely to become increasingly more related.

In conclusion, while most of the attitude measures used in this study have been shown to be associated with one another, they were by no means synonymous (i.e., measuring the same variable). As discussed in Chapter I[I], some correlation among instruments was expected on a purely theoretical basis. For example, one would predict those subjects who express more motivation would also report more commitment (see Tables 3-5 and 3-6). Yet, with the exception of those indices taken from the same questionnaire, the attitude intercorrelations for the recruits were relatively low--intercorrelations for the veteran officers were higher but by no means perfect. Consequently, there is enough variation among questionnaire responses to indicate the attitude variables were conceptually and, too a large extent, empirically distinct.

TABLE 3-5

RECRUIT INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE MAJOR ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES -- MEAN CORRELATIONS ACROSS 8 TIME PERIODS.

	Beliefs	Goals - Total	5 Main Goals	Motivational Force	Organizational Commitment	Need Fulfillment	Need Importance	Need Dissatisfaction
Beliefs	*	.37	.38	.68	.32	.34	.30	-.17
Goals - Total		*	.89	.84	.17	.16	.30	.03
5 Main Goals			*	.76	.17	.21	.31	-.04
Motivational Force				*	.23	.25	.33	-.05
Organizational Commitment					*	.41	.17	-.31
Need Fulfillment						*	.28	-.54
Need Importance							*	.05
Need Dissatisfaction								*

TABLE 3-6

EXPERIENCED OFFICER INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE MAJOR ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES

	Beliefs	Goals - Total	5 Main Goals	Motivational Force	Organizational Commitment	Need Fulfillment	Need Importance	Need Dissatisfaction
Beliefs	*	.48	.49	.83	.43	.51	.52	-.37
Goals - Total		*	.91	.77	.43	.37	.61	-.03
5 Main Goals			*	.70	.45	.38	.68	-.04
Motivational Force				*	.42	.48	.58	-.15
Organizational Commitment					*	.60	.57	-.34
Need Fulfillment						*	.60	-.72
Need Importance							*	-.14
Need Dissatisfaction								*

"Police work turned out to be something I hadn't expected. You have to sacrifice your principles to stay on the job. The longer you're in, the more you'll do for that pension. When I came on I was idealistic and wanted to work really hard. I found out fast that such ideas aren't very practical around here. If you want to get ahead in this department, you have to keep your mouth shut and keep a low profile."

Union City Police Officer
(December 11, 1970)

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION: LEARNING THE POLICEMAN'S LOT

A recurrent theme throughout this document is simply that police work must be viewed as an occupation among occupations -- one which shares the same essential ingredients as any other job in this society. While a policeman must cope with more demands, more pressures, and more hostility than, say, the manager, the schoolteacher, or the factory worker; a neophyte policeman must learn the characteristic behavior patterns and supportive attitudes of his occupation in much the same manner as a new member of any organizational system. In short, the new member learns by his experience -- whether it be real or imagined.

Organizational socialization is the process by which such learning takes place. It is a continuing process occurring throughout an individual's career. Yet, some periods must be considered more important than others. The initiation period, for example, has been depicted as the most stressful for the person as well as being the most critical period regarding the individual's later career. Hence, "learning" is mandatory if a person is to shed successfully the recruit label denoting his marginal position within the organization and become a fully functioning and accepted member.

By virtue of his own choice, a recruit to the police milieu becomes immersed in a "life career". The sooner he learns the ropes of his chosen career the more comfortable and adept he is likely to feel. This research focused deliberately on describing the job attitude changes during the early career phases of policemen with the hope that a number of theoretical interesting findings could be established. As Chapter III pointed out, the results of this study are not disappointing. Indeed, a great deal has been learned about the "psychological contract" governing the behavior of individuals, in this case, policemen, within their employing organization.[1]

This chapter is designed to complement the statistical findings with an analysis of the participant-observation data. Although the two methods are somewhat at odds with each other

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[1] It should be noted that the purpose of this research was not to examine the patrolman's "on the street" behavior per se. Yet, an important -- indeed, crucial -- determinant of his occupational "style" is the set of job related perceptions the patrolman comes to possess regarding the behavior he believes appropriate to gain desired occupational rewards -- the quid pro quo for his energies.

-- as will be discussed in the following chapters -- an attempt is made here to place the empirical findings of the questionnaire analysis in the context of direct observation. This tactic emphasizes the experiential side of this study and provides the reader with a particular "feel" for the situation responsible for the unique attitude mapping presented in another chapter. Therefore, rather than directing attention specifically to the statistically significant separate findings, this discussion highlights the consistent "themes" appearing throughout the results.

The following discussion represents a distilled characterization of the recruit socialization process. The organization of this chapter follows the paradigm adopted in Chapter I to describe temporal aspects of organizational socialization.[2] The data are drawn exclusively from the results of this particular research effort and as such represent only one organization and a relatively small sample of policemen.[3]

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[2] The reader will note that all recruits are treated as if they followed the same training pattern. Although this is a distortion of the actual situation in Union City, the relative homogeneity of the recruits' responses to the police environment allows for the generalization of the data. For example, regardless of whether or not a recruit returned to the Police Academy after his FTO stage of training, his "street" experiences had a significant impact upon his attitudes, Those recruits who did return to the Academy (as part of their formal training program) were not likely to revert to older attitude patterns. It was my observation that the second stage of the Police Academy for the "street-wise" recruits was a time of marked forbearance. In fact, most recruits were "counting the days" until they could again return to "real" police work.

[3] See Chapter V for a more elaborate treatment of the methodological difficulties involved in this research.

A. PRE-ENTRY: CHOICE

What sort of young man is attracted to and selected for a police career? In Chapter I, a brief review of the literature noted that while personal characteristics cannot be viewed as entirely independent of the police system itself, the research indicated that police work seems to attract local, family-oriented, working class whites interested primarily in the security and salary aspects of the occupation. The literature also stressed a general inability (or reluctance) on the part of the police departments to recruit and hire college-trained individuals. Furthermore, recruits to the occupation have been characterized as upwardly-mobile with the research indicating that persons who became policemen tend to rank their job as slightly more prestigious than other occupations they had considered.[4]

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[4] The basis for this "upwardly mobile" thesis however is questionable. Indeed, several alternative interpretations for the data are available. For example, post decisional dissonance, social consistency or even social influence explanations are equally acceptable interpretations.

More importantly, the authoritarian syndrome which has popularly been ascribed to persons selecting police careers has not been supported by research. Generally, the available research supports the contention that the police occupation is viewed by recruits as simply one job among many and considered roughly along the same dimensions as any potential job-choice.

This research can add little to the above portrait. However, several qualifications are in order which perhaps provide a greater understanding of this particular choice process.

First, the upwardly-mobile theory should be modified to include community characteristics (See Appendices C and D). From the Union City data, to classify the typical recruit as a product of a lower or working class home distorts the representative nature of the police department. At least in Union City, the socio-economic background distribution (i.e., father's occupation) of the recruits compared more favorably to the community's occupational character than it did with the socio-economic background distribution among personnel of several other police departments. Hence, it appears likely that the representative nature of many police organizations has been understated by ignoring the locale of the particular department.[5]

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[5] While this is true for the socio-economic distribution, the Union City Department is flatly unrepresentative of the racial make up of the community. As with most other major police departments, blacks, chicanos and other racial minorities are woefully absent from the Union City police personnel rolls.

Second, the security and salary aspects of the police job as the crucial recruiting factors may have been biased by the preponderance of lower and working class recruits in other samples. On the basis of fifty interviews conducted during the Academy phase of the recruits' training, this researcher found that the out-of-doors and adventurous qualities of the occupation were perceived as among the most influential factors attracting men from this community into police service.[6] In every case, the recruits stressed the non-routine aspects of police work as one of the most important factors in selecting the occupation. While security and salary concerns are undoubtedly important as providing a guaranteed-minimum of economic stability, it is the added inducement of the perceived task that seems to entice men toward a police career.

Third, these interviews uncovered a rather pervasive "meaningful-work" theme. In ninety percent (N = 50) of the interviews, the recruit alluded to the opportunity afforded by a police career to perform in an occupation which was perceived as

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[6] These interviews were open-ended and purposely informal -- although it was understood by all subjects that the general topic of the discussion was "why they had decided to become police officers". As such, the "themes" which came out of any particular interview were mentioned first by the interviewee.

"consequential" or "important to society". Below are several excerpts from written autobiographies collected during the course of this study which exemplify these concerns.[7]

> "I had decided that sales was my type of work and I was making a comfortable living. For two years I worked in this capacity but found I was beginning to dislike the work. After a great deal of thought, I chose to join the police department, The idea of law enforcement had always intrigued me. Basically it's the type of job that is challenging and gives me the chance to do something important for society."

Another recruit, a college graduate and somewhat more articulate stated:

> "The principal motivating factor towards my pursuing a police career is the challenge inherent in law enforcement work. It is a field which offers both human contact and the opportunity for personal achievement without the academic sterility of many professions . . . in this occupation, one is able to make a substantial contribution to the welfare of the community."

The fourth consideration again comes from the interview phase of this research and involves the reasons the recruits mentioned for first becoming interested in a police career. Sixty percent noted specifically that their primary social networks included Union City police officers. While kinship or generational biases were shown not to be of major importance in the Union City Department (see Appendices C and D), it is notable that such a large proportion of recruits stated explicitly that their exposure to the police career occurred through either family or friends -- in other words, most recruits first gave serious thought to the police occupation via a "friendship" link with an active Union City policeman.[8] One recruit noted:

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[7] These autobiographies were written for class presentation during the first week of Academy training. As such, they are subject to social desireability, personal aggrandizement, and other biasing factors. However, it is the feeling of this researcher that they indeed do represent basic motives behind a police career and certainly are typical of statements recorded during the interview phase of this research.

> "My reasons for wanting to be a police officer are simple. My parents have a few good friends that have been on the department for some time and I have practically grown up around policemen. I used to listen to their stories and talk and thought it would be a pretty good job."

Another recruit summarized his reasons for joining the department as follows:

> "I had been thinking about police work for about a year, but never really looked into it until I quit school. I have a brother-in-law on the force who I talked with a lot of times about being a Union City cop . . . I felt that the job would be a rewarding and satisfying job, the pay appeared to be adequate and I felt the job would be anything but boring."

What comes out of these interviews is a feeling that most police officers have not chosen their career casually. Perhaps some men originally took the qualifying examination for patrolman lightly, but it is unlikely many men proceeded through the entire screening process -- often taking up to six months -- without becoming seriously interested and desirous of a police career.

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[8] The other recruits stated that they had become interested in police work in college (by taking law enforcement classes -- approximately fifteen percent) or the military (through special police recruiting programs -- approximately fifteen percent). Only ten percent failed to report a specific social interaction factor which originally interested them in a police career in Union City.

The screening factor involved in police selection is an undeniably significant feature of the career. From the filling out of the application blank at City Hall to the telephone call which informs a potential recruit of his acceptance into the department, the individual is subject to a series of events which serve to impress an aspiring policeman with a sense of being accepted into an "elite" organization. As such, the various screening devices -- if successfully surmounted -- are likely to increase the person's self-esteem as well as buttressing his choice of career. This anticipatory stage would seem to increase the individual's evaluation of the police organization as an important place to work.

To summarize, police work must be viewed as an occupation attractive to men for more than salary and security reasons. Clearly, the perceived adventuresome, non-routine features of police work are significant inducements. Furthermore, most recruits based their choice on considerable information gleaned from either family or friends involved intimately with the occupation. Finally, the occupational choice becomes fixed via a long and rigorous selection procedure during which an individual has ample opportunity to change his mind.

The survey data collected in this study supports this overall picture. Basically, the results depict the recruit at day one (t_0) of his police career to be highly motivated to work hard and highly committed to his chosen organization relative to his later career.[9] In terms of the "path -goal" attitudes, the results at t_0 indicate the recruit's expectations (beliefs) that hard work will lead to valued rewards determine the relatively high motivational state. While all rewards, except those originating in the community, were viewed as being strongly associated with hard work, it was the perceived personal rewards which provided the most input into a recruit's overall motivation. In light of the popular conception of police work, it is not surprising that field investigation activities were perceived as being the most important activities in terms of receiving valued rewards.

Individuals who were more motivated at t_0 received slightly higher performance and effort field rankings following their Academy graduation. In terms of background characteristics, few significant correlations were recorded with the motivational profile of the entering officers. Also, there appeared to be little or no relationship between the t_0 motivational attitudes of the recruits and their final standing on the Police Academy academic rankings.

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[9] In a subsequent chapter, the data collected in this study are contrasted with comparable data representing other occupations.

It is apparent from the results that the police recruits enter the organization very strongly committed to the norms and values they perceive to represent the Union City Police Department. However, there was some indication these recruits viewed their department as very similar to other police organizations at day one. Furthermore, there was only a slight tendency for those who were initially more committed (at t_0) to be rated high in effort and performance by their respective patrol sergeant when they entered the field setting (i.e., the "street"). The relationships among the t_0 commitment attitudes and both the Academy rankings and the demographic variables were generally weak.

In terms of satisfaction attitudes, most of the recruits at their initiation into the police system were dissatisfied relative to measures gathered later in their careers. Apparently, their dissatisfaction was due to the neophytes' recruit status. The newcomers at day one were most dissatisfied with their self-actualization needs. This finding should not be considered unusual in light of the recruit's marginal status within the department. Also, the department literature, as well as the orientation session, stressed the Police Academy as a period of evaluation and testing (i.e., a recruit must prove himself capable of being a policeman during his Academy experience or be dismissed from the force). As noted, the recruits soon learn this condition was, in actuality, not true; but they were relatively apprehensive at their introduction to the organization and tended to absorb the departmental "mythology".

The satisfaction attitudes of the recruits at induction must also be viewed from the standpoint of a widespread organizational aggrandizement which occurs during the recruitment and selection process. As in most organizations, the police department is depicted to individuals who have yet to take the oath of office in its most favorable light. As indicated, a potential recruit is made to feel as if he were important and valued by the organization. However, upon the administration of the oath, the person's status within the department is reversed drastically. While the individual may feel upon swearing allegiance to the organization that "he's finally made it", the department instantaneously informs him that until he has served his probationary period he can be dropped from the membership rolls without warning, explanation, or appeal at any time. It is perhaps ironic that in a period of a few minutes, a person's position vis-a-vis the organization can be altered so dramatically. Although this feature is common to most organizations, in the paramilitary environment of the police world, the shift is particularly startling to the individual. The phenomenon is akin to the induction of a volunteer in the military or the induction of a college football star into the world of professional football. In each case, the newcomer is likely to begin wondering about his organizational choice and be somewhat dissatisfied with his new status at the bottom of the occupational status ladder.

Consequently, with their status reversed (from important to unimportant) and a confrontation with the Police Academy next on their career agenda, it is not surprising that the recruits at t_0 were most dissatisfied with the degree to which security needs were fulfilled. Additionally, as shall be discussed in greater length later in this chapter, the police occupation has an inherent hazard or danger factor which would seem to place a limit upon the amount of satisfaction or fulfillment one may express regarding this need.

The foregoing discussion assumes that the recruits were capable of evaluating the degree to which their organizational position presently satisfied their needs. To a limited extent, this view is tenable. However, the import of the satisfaction attitudes at day one is obfuscated by the crude job perspectives normally held by newcomers to any organization. Aside from the recruits' restricted association with the police milieu, the perfunctory nature of the information formally "passed down" to a newcomer casts large doubt upon both the reliability and validity of the measure at t_0. Hence, the meaning and the determinants of the recruits' reported satisfaction attitudes at entrance must be considered problematic.

What seems most important about the induction attitudes of the police recruits is their high level of motivation and commitment -- relative to their later career. Indeed, the Union City Police Department was able to attract and select men who entered the organization with a reservoir of positive attitudes toward hard work and a strong level of organizational support. Although it was somewhat surprising that there did not appear to be more than a weak relationship among any of the background characteristics and the various attitude measures at entrance, it must be kept in mind that on two of the measures, virtually all persons expressed high positive attitudes and thus it could not be expected that the demographic variables would be able to provide much aid in discriminating among responses.

The emerging profile of the recruit standing at the brink of his police career is a favorable one from the department's perspective. Yet, there is some noticeable apprehension and some dissatisfaction expressed by the recuits relative to later in their career. Apparently, this sober note in an otherwise enthusiastic profile is due to the recruits' anticipations and expectations concerning their forthcoming adventure at the Police Academy. What happens to the recruit and his associated attitudes upon this encounter at the Academy is where attention is now focused.

B. ENTRY: ENCOUNTER

When the recruit first dons the symbols of office -- the badge, handcuffs, nightstick and gun -- he experiences the first of a series of events which will eventually isolate him from his non-police peers and place him well within a subculture characterized by intense colleague bonds. The police organization has often been described by those economically and emotionally dependent upon it as "one big family". Indeed, co-workers are known as "brother officers". One Union City patrolman, a 15-year veteran of the "streets", phrased this occupational characteristic in the following manner:

> "This job is the only job I can think of where you really have to depend on others no matter what you do. If it isn't the ass-hole public that's after you, it's the IID across the street, or the brass upstairs. No matter what happens out there, somebody can find something wrong with what you did and screw you. If it wasn't for the patrol guys backing each other up all the time, you wouldn't last ten minutes on this job . . . I guess since we have to protect each other on the job, this kind of concern carries over to our off-duty time too . . . Everyone of my friends either works for the Department or used to work for the Department. These people really care about me . . . like when I'm sick or something needs to be done in the house, these guys are always around to see what they can do . . . you know, I'd do just about anything for them too!"[10]

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[10] The IID the officer was referring to is the department's Internal Investigation Division which is housed in a municipal building across the street from the police department's central precinct.

This fraternal-like regard existing among fellow patrolmen pervades the entire institution. The well-documented "code of secrecy" shrouding virtually every police department is but one of the more salient manifestations of this in-group solidarity. It is not surprising that the first axiom learned by a recruit is the "no rat rule" --i.e., fellow officers are to be supported under all conditions.

Wearing a uniform which distinguishes the novice from a "real" policeman,[11] the recruit is subjected to a training process which will later become one of his major career remembrances. By observing and listening closely to the police stories and style, the recruit begins to absorb the tradition which typifies the department. The learning of this "organizational history" is largely informal (i.e., not part of the Academy lesson plans). Yet, the recruit's ability to assimilate the relevant history will, in large measure, determine the speed of his adjustment to police life. The clumsy term "organizational history" is simply meant to imply that there exists within the departmental environment a set of personalities, past events and implied relationships the recruit is eventually expected to learn. The correlates of this history are attitudes toward certain persons, places and things which are the "objective reality" of police work. While this history lesson is presented largely in an informal manner, it is the most important aspect of a policeman's early career. By vicariously sharing the exploits of his predecessors, a recruit gradually builds a common language and a shared set of interests which will attach him to the organization until he too has police experiences to relate.

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[11] Significantly, a recruit is not even allowed to carry a loaded weapon during the classroom portion of his Academy training. He must wait until graduation night before being permitted to "load his weapon". To the recruit, such policies are demeaning. Yet, the policies "stigmatizing" the recruits-as-recruits (e.g., different uniforms, old and battered batons, allocation of parking spaces, special scarfs, etc.) were exceedingly effective methods of impressing upon the recruits that they were not yet Union City Police Officers.

Granted, the formal Academy consists mainly of a didactic sort of instrumental-training. However, the recruit's overwhelming eagerness to hear what police work is "really like" results literally in hours upon hours of "war stories" (alternatively called "sea stories" by a few officers) told by veteran policemen. It is through these "war stories" that the Department's history is communicated. Furthermore, via this learning the meaning and emotional reality of police work begins to take shape for the individual. One recruit, when asked about what he hoped to learn in the Academy, responded as follows:

> "I want them to tell me what police work is all about. I could care less about the outside speakers or the guys they bring out here from upstairs who haven't been on the street for the last twenty years. What I want is for somebody who's going to shoot straight and give me the lowdown on how I'm supposed to survive out there."

Unfortunately, for the recruit, the Academy provides far too little of this kind of preparation. A departmental survey (N = 92) conducted during the participant-observation phase of this research revealed that over 95 percent of the sampled patrolmen felt they were given too little practical instruction in patrol procedures.[12]

Yet, the function of the police Academy in the socialization process appears to go considerably beyond the transmitting of "knowledge about" the police role. The Academy experience must also be seen as the "puberty rites" or "rites-de-passage" associated with occupation.

For most Union City recruits, the first real contact with the police world occurs at the Academy. Surrounded by thirty to forty contemporaries, the recruit is introduced to the harsh and often arbitrary discipline of the organization. The initiation process is demanding. Absolute obedience to departmental rules, rigorous physical training, dull lectures devoted to various technical aspects of the occupation and a ritualistic concern for detail characterizes the Academy. Only the recruit's classmates aid his struggle to avoid punishments and provide him an outlet from the monotony of the long days. A recruit soon learns that to be one minute late to a class;

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[12] The survey asked the officers to name the most and least helpful portion of the training and to name the part of the Academy training which they felt should be expanded.

or to utter a careless word in formation; or to be "caught" walking -- not running -- between the parking lot and the locker room may result in a "gig" costing a man an extra day of work or the time it may take to write a long essay on a topic such as "The Importance of Keeping a Neat Appearance".[13]

In all aspects of the Academy life, the recruits are expected to demonstrate class solidarity. The training staff actively promotes group cohesion through the use of group rewards and punishments, interclass competition and cajoling the recruits -- at every conceivable opportunity -- to "show some unity". Predictably, such tactics work -- partial evidence is suggested by the number of well-attended Academy class reunions held year after year within the department. To most of the veteran police officers on the force, their police Academy experiences resulted in a career-long source of identification and provided the opportunity to develop a number of lasting friendships. It is no exaggeration to state that the "in-the-same-boat" collective consciousness which arises when groups are processed serially through a harsh set of experiences was perhaps as refined in the Union City Police Department as in other institutions such as military academies, fraternities or medical schools.

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[13] The two examples on the next page show how the Academy discipline cannot be overstated. Shown are two of the dreaded "gigs" which were among the twenty-odd gigs issued during this researcher's Academy ("Training Class 67, Sir!") experience -- 12 weeks.

REPRESENTATIVE TRAINING ACADEMY "GIGS"

Sample #1

FROM: Officer Smith, Academy Staff
TO: Recruit Jones, A. A. #9000
SUBJECT: Classroom Conduct

You were observed displaying un-officer like conduct in an Academy class in-session. You openly yawned (without making any effort to minimize or conceal the fact), (this happened twice), you were looking out the window constantly, and spent time drawing on your notebook cover. You will report to Sergeant Doe in the Communications Division on Saturday, August 15, for an extra 3 hours of duty.

Sample #2

(This "gig" was directed to this researcher during the first week of training).

FROM: Officer Bull, Academy Staff
TO: Recruit Van Maanen, J. E. #7425
SUBJECT: Dirty Weapon at Inspection

I have been informed that you presented a very dirty weapon to the inspecting Lieutenant at formal inspection this morning. As per standing orders, you are directed to submit a 500 word paper on "The Importance of Keeping My Weapon Clean", no later than Monday, 27 July. Direct paper through your class president to Officer Smith.

One of the results of such "stress" training is that the recruit soon learns that it is the peer group rather than the "brass" which will support him and which he, in turn, must support. By such mechanisms as degradation, submission and substitution, the recruit school serves to detach a newcomer from his old attitudes and acquaintances. The long hours, new friends and the ordeal aspects of the Academy gradually impress upon the recruit that he must now identify with a new group -- the police. That this process is not complete, however, is illustrated by an experience of a recruit during his sixth week of training -- before his introduction to the "street". This particular recruit told his classmates the following:

> "Last night as I was driving home from the Academy, I stopped to get some gas . . . As soon as I had shut off the engine some dude comes running up to me flapping his arms and yelling like crazy about being robbed. Here I am, sitting in my car with my gun on and the ole buzzer (badge) staring him right in the face . . . Wow! . . . I had no idea what I should do; so I told him to call the cops and got away from there as fast as I could . . . What gets me is that it never did dawn on me that I WAS A COP until I'd started to drive away."

To this researcher, the Academy training serves to prepare the recruits to change. Through a variety of methods, the recruit begins to absorb the subcultural ethos and to "think like a policeman". Importantly, a recruit in the Academy soon learns the formal rules and regulations are applied inconsistently. What is sanctioned in one case with a "gig" is ignored in another case. To the recruits, Academy rules become prescriptions of normative behavior which are to be coped with formally, but informally dismissed. The newcomer learns that when "The Department" notices his behavior, it usually results in a sanction, not a reward. The ethos becomes "stay low and avoid trouble." Even questioning behavior is discouraged. In Academy classes, the instructors admonished the recruits to "keep your mouth shut and listen". If a recruit was so bold as to question an instructor, he must first preface his remarks by stating, "Sir, Recruit 'Doe' would like to ask a question." The instructor then has the option of ignoring the recruit or recognizing him. Hence, by suggestion and situational adjustments the neophyte policemen begin to refine their entering definitions of the police role and setting.

As noted in Chapter II, the formal content of the training Academy is almost exclusively weighted in favor of the technical aspects of police work. Recruits are required to turn in typed notebooks each week containing lengthy summaries of course material. A few outside speakers are invited to the Academy but, overwhelmingly, the classroom time is filled by Union City policemen describing the more tedious aspects of the job. Without question, as the Academy period stretches on, the recruits become more and more anxious to engage in "real" police work.

Following the Academy phase of training, a newcomer is introduced to the realities of the "street" vis-a-vis his Field Training Officer. It is during this period of socialization that the "reality shock" encompassing full recognition of being a policeman is likely to occur. Through the eyes of his experienced FTO, the recruit learns the ins and outs of the police role. Here he learns what kinds of behavior are appropriate and expected of a patrolman within the social setting. His instructors in this phase are almost exclusively his fellow patrolmen working the same precinct and shift. While his Sergeant may occasionally offer tips on how to handle himself on the "street", the supervisor is more notable for his absence than for his presence. When the Sergeant does seek out the recruit, it is probably to inquire as to how many hazardous traffic violations the "green-pea" had written that week (i.e., in Union City, each patrolman was expected to write at least one hazardous or "moving" violation per shift) or to remind the recruit to keep his hat on when out of the patrol car. As a matter of formal policy, the department expects the FTO to handle all recruit uncertainties. This traditional feature of police work -- patrolmen training patrolmen --insures continuity from class to class of police officers regardless of the content of Academy instruction (which changes very slowly itself).

It was my observation that the recruit's reception into the Patrol Division was one of consideration. As near as interviewing and personal experience can attest, there was no hazing or rejection of the recruit by the veteran officers.

In all cases, the recruits were fully accepted into the on-going police system with tolerance and much advice. If anyone in the department was likely to react negatively to a recruit, it was the supervisor, not the on-line patrolmen.

During the protracted hours spent on patrol with his Field Training Officer, the recruit is instructed as to the "real" nature of police work. To the newcomer, the first few weeks on patrol are an extremely trying period. The recruit is slightly fearful and ill prepared -- by the Academy -- for both the routine and eccentricities of "real" police work. He may know the criminal code and the rudimentaries of arrest, but the fledgling patrolman is generally perplexed and ill at ease in their application. Yet, beside him in the patrol unit is his "partner", a veteran. Hence, the FTO is the answer to the "breaking-in" dilemma. By observing, listening and mimicking, the neophyte policeman learns how to deal with the objects of his occupation -- the traffic violator, the hippie, the drunk, the "brass" and the police system itself.[14]

While the recruit is busy absorbing a myriad of novel experiences, his FTO is appraising the newcomer's reaction to certain situations. Although each FTO stresses slightly different activities when introducing the newcomer to the "street" (e.g., a few FTO's were notorious "alley cruisers", some were "ticket men", others emphasized "getting burglars", etc.), the training officer's main concern was in how the recruit would handle the "hot call" -- the "in progress" or "on view" or "help the officer" situation which experience tells the FTO may result in violence. The "hot call" represents everything the policeman feels he is prepared for. In short, it calls for "police work". Such calls are anticipated by patrolmen with both pleasure and anxiety and the recruit's performance on such calls is in a very real sense, the "measure of the man". While "hot calls" are relatively rare on a day-to-day basis, their occurrence signals a behavioral test for the recruit. To pass, he must have "balls". By placing himself in a vulnerable position and pluckily "backing up" his FTO, a recruit demonstrates his inclination to share the risks of police work. The required behaviors vary from event to event; however, contingent upon the ex-post-facto evaluation of the situation (e.g., was a weapon involved? did the officers have to fight the man? how many other patrolmen were on the spot?, etc.) and the recruit's response in the situation (e.g., did he get out of the car quickly? did he hesitate to help his partner? did he appear visibly fearful?, etc.), a newcomer makes a departmental reputation which will follow him for the remainder of his career. While some FTO's promote these "climactic" events,[15] most wait quietly for such situations to occur. Certainly varying definitions of appropriate behavior in these "knife-edge" situations exist from patrolman to patrolman, but the critical element is the recruit's demonstrated willingness to place himself in a precarious position while aiding a "brother" officer. In the police world, such behavior is demanded from a recruit.

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[14] For some excellent descriptions of the importance and symbolic meaning of a patrolman's first partner, see Radono, Walking the Beat, 1968; Wambaugh, The New Centurions, 1970; and Walker, Notes from the Bottom of the World: A Policeman's Journal, 1969.

Although this analysis is woefully incomplete for a number of reasons (e.g., the inherent difficulties involved in collecting data on a large sample of cases), the behaviorally-demonstrated commitment to one's fellow officers involved in such events is a particularly important stage in the socialization process. To the recruit, he has experienced a test and it provides him with the first of many shared experiences which he can relate to other officers. To the FTO, he has watched his man in a "police work" situation and now knows a great deal more about his occupational companion.

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[15] Several FTOs in Union City were departmental celebrities for their training techniques. For example, one officer made it a ritual to have his recruit write parking citations in front of the local Black Panther Party headquarters. Another was prominent for requiring his recruit to "shake-out" certain "trouble" bars in the rougher section of the city (i.e., check identifications, make street-searches and possibly roust out customers, a la The French Connection).

Aside from the "back up" test applied to all recruits, the other most powerful experience in a recruit's young career is his first arrest. Virtually all policemen recall the individual, the location and the situation surrounding their first arrest. One five-year veteran patrolman stated in an interview with this researcher:

> "That first arrest is really something. I guess that's because it's what we're trained to do. In my case, I'd been out there for a couple of weeks but we hadn't done much . . . I think we'd made some chippies, like stand-ups or DWI's, but my partner never let me handle the arrest part. Then one night he tells me that if anything happens I'm gonna be on my own and gotta do the whole arrest bit, from the street to the sixth floor (the jail) . . . well, we get a man-with-gun call and I'd just finished writing it down when I look up and see this ass-hole walking down the street with a shotgun slung over his arm . . . like he's going hunting right in the middle of town. I'm tell'en you, I was scared shitless, but I knew this was it. Either I made the arrest or I'd look like an idiot. Anyway, I didn't freeze and went over to the guy. I snatched the gun and told him he was under arrest . . . I don't really know what I'd expected him to do, but I sure was relieved when he turns out to be real cooperative . . . I suppose I can remember my first four or five arrests, but after that they just start to blur together."

It is such situations that determines one's success in the department. The fact that they occur somewhat at the discretion of the FTO underscores the orderliness of the socialization process. In effect, these "climactic" situations graphically denote to the recruit his new status and role within the organization. He is now a cop!

Clearly, it is during the FTO phase of the recruit's career that he is most susceptible to attitude change. The newcomer is self-conscious and truly in need of guidelines. Through "war stories" told by fellow officers -- conspicuously, his FTO -- the recruit begins to adopt the perspectives of his occupational associates. Critical to this process is the neophyte's own developing repertoire of experiences which are interpreted to him via his more experienced colleagues. In a sense, the "reality shock" of being involved "in the action" is absorbed and defined by the recruit's fellow officers. During this phase of training the recruit becomes in fact a policeman with a distinctive set of attitudes characterizing his new identity.

The above impressionistic account of the recruit socialization process implies that there are two sequences of importance during the "encounter" period. The first phase involves a recruit's introduction and resultant adaptation to the Academy and the second phase occurs when the newcomer is initiated into the Patrol Division. In a sense, the Academy phase serves to "unfreeze" the recruit and make him amenable to the rapid socialization required once he enters the actual participation period of his early career.[16] Attention is now focused on a discussion of the set of job-related attitudes which are associated with this critical encounter between the individual and the organization.

It is apparent that the early stages of the recruit's police career are marked by some rather vivid attitude changes (t_1 through t_5). First, motivational attitudes drop considerably. In fact, four of the five reward categories (rewards which presumably may result from "working especially hard") fell sharply from their level at day one -- i.e., beliefs regarding favorable reactions from the department, the supervisor, the community and fellow officers. Only personal rewards remained fairly stable. This would certainly seem to indicate a growing realization on the part of the recruits that indeed "working especially hard" was not linked to most of the system rewards. The only reward a recruit could reasonably expect to obtain for his effort was greater personal satisfaction.

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[16] Inkeles (1969) suggested that socialization processes may often be characterized by a "second wave". He describes this phenomenon as follows:

> "The second-wave in the socialization process occurs where and when the individual learns the detailed role contents which are socially necessary to behave in a previously acquired basic disposition and where new dispositions and social skills couldn't have been learned earlier." (p. 152)

As outlined above, his observations are particularly pertinent when discussing the police recruit socialization process.

In terms of activities, only by working hard in the area of "field investigation" did the recruits' perceive any consistent relationship with the available rewards by the end of their fifth month on the job (t_5).

Some association was detected between the sergeants' evaluation of effort and performance displayed by the recruits in the field and the recruits' expressed motivational attitudes (t_1 through t_5). Yet, if anything, those recruits who were least motivated tended to be ranked as the better patrolmen. While a little zealousness may be tolerated early in one's career -- maybe even expected -- such attitudes must soon be altered if the recruit is to succeed in the police milieu (as evidenced by the superiors' evaluations). Hence, the tenderfoot patrolman learns that "working especially hard" is not the proper behavioral predisposition and is discouraged (either by non-reinforcement or by negative reinforcement) by his peers and superior from behaving in such a manner. The observation that personal rewards are still believed to result from effort would seem to place the recruit in a paradoxical position. On one hand, "working especially hard" will not bring favorable rewards from the "system", yet, on the other hand, it will bring personal satisfaction. The response to this situation is discussed in the following section.

The organizational commitment attitudes of the recruits also declined. However, unlike the motivational correlations, the sergeants tended to perceive those recruits who expressed more commitment to the organization to be the better officers (in terms of both effort and performance). This association was particularly apparent during the recruit's initial "street" experience (t_3 through t_5). This finding appears of major import since high commitment implies a relatively unquestioning belief and acceptance of the organizational system. The appurtenant literature has speculated that loyalty and dedication -- as behavioral correlates of a "conformance-to-authority" syndrome -- are the principal behaviors an apprentice policeman must demonstrate in order to be accepted within the police system. This finding provides important empirical confirmation on this organizational dimension.

The recruits' expressed need fulfillment and need satisfaction attitudes increased conspicuously as they passed through their Academy and FTO phases of training (t_1 through t_5). Indeed, the satisfaction indices registered the most positive level at the end of the fifth month -- after all recruits were regularly assigned patrolmen. This is not surprising in view of the limited opportunities to satisfy certain needs during the Academy period of the recruits' careers. In general, the job satisfaction literature indicates that as one is accepted into the work group, his satisfaction increases. As noted, considerable grumbling was observed among the recruits while they were assigned to the Academy -- due both to the nature of the Academy itself and to their nominal status as police officers. Hence, it should be expected the expressed satisfaction would increase as the newcomers began actually to act as policemen.

The five need categories retained approximately the same importance ordering throughout the first seven months on the job.[17] However, the degree of perceived fulfillment of all needs except self-actualization jumped rather spectacularly as the recruits gained "street" experience (t_3 through t_5). The dissatisfaction index showed a slight decrease as the recruits moved through the Academy and out to the "street" -- although hardly as dramatic as the increase in fulfillment attitudes. On the basis of these findings, the neophytes are still relatively deprived. In other words, although the individuals report more need fulfillment, they concomitantly express a desire for higher levels of fulfillment. This may well be an indication of the "street-learning" experience when the recruits are first exposed to the "policeman's lot".[18]

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[17] Self-actualization needs were viewed as most important. These were followed by security, social, autonomy, and esteem needs respectively (discussed in a later Chapter).

[18] Rather than repeating the job characteristics of police work as outlined in Chapter I, the term "policeman's lot" is used here to indicate the relatively low status, the paradoxical role requirements, the danger aspect of the occupation, the degrading nature ("dirty work") of many of the tasks given to the patrolman, etc.

Yet, as the following chapters will point out the expressed dissatisfaction of the police recruits was considerably less than that expressed by persons representing other occupational groupings. Thus, it appears, at least during the early stages of the police career, the patrolman's job provides ample satisfaction -- particularly in the social and self-actualizing need areas.

The relationship between need satisfaction attitudes and the job behavior measures was somewhat unexpected. For the most part, those recruits who were the most satisfied with their occupation after completing the training phases of their career were more likely to be perceived by their sergeants as better policemen (at least from the effort and performance standpoint) than their less satisfied counterparts. Also, these high-rated recruits were more likely to place less importance on the set of needs as time progresses. However, as another chapter specifies, the decrease in importance for the high-rated recruits was concentrated in the areas of esteem and autonomy needs -- the two least fulfilled needs. Consequently, the data suggest that those recruits who quickly adjust to the situation -- by devaluing certain hypothesized needs -- are usually more satisfied with their role and are perceived to be better patrolmen than those officers who continue to perceive their esteem and autonomy needs to be important.

Finally, the single item dealing with role perceptions presents a rather interesting shift in recruit perceptions. The data suggest that although one may enter the department with a so-called "other-directed" or "people-oriented" view of the occupation, the resulting experience is such that he becomes increasingly drawn to the less sensitive, "inner-directed" normative role model. Clearly, this finding is in accord with this researcher's field observations. Recruits were continually admonished to "be aggressive", "don't back down", "show balls". It is little wonder the recruits select the "independent, imaginative, forceful, self-confident and decisive" trait cluster as the ideal type of patrolman, their motivational attitudes suggest that it is the "cooperative, adaptable, cautious, agreeable and tactful" officer who best survives in the system. Essentially, the motivational responses insinuate that a "don't make waves" philosophy exists in the department and this philosophy would appear to best correspond to the "other-directed" ideal type. This outcome suggests some degree of role strain and conflict associated with the police role. The following section attempts to describe the conventional manner in which a recruit manages this strain as he finally begins to automatically "think like a policeman".

C: CONTINUANCE: METAMORPHOSIS

This section is concerned broadly with what Becker *et al.* (1961) labeled "the final perspective". As such, interest here is with the set of attitudes portraying the adjustment recruits have made to their occupational and organizational setting. The specific focus is upon the perceptions the recruits come to possess of certain "backstage" aspects of their police careers.

To review, the recruits' early careers (t_0 through t_5) were marked by both declining motivation and commitment on one hand, and increasing satisfaction on the other. Furthermore, each attitude area was shown to be at least tentatively associated with the job behavior indices used in this study. Consequently, the emphasis of the following discussion is upon the reasons which seem to be the most powerful explanations for the apparent job-attitude configuration of the "final perspective".

As noted earlier, one of the major motivating factors behind the recruit's decision to become a policeman was the adventure or romance he felt would characterize the occupation. Yet, the young officer while acquiring a familiarity with the job soon learns the work consists primarily of performing routine service and administrative tasks -- a clerk in a patrol car. This finding seems well-established in the police-related literature and this researcher's observations confirm these reports. The overwhelming evidence depicts the patrolman's role as predominantly an "order taker" -- a reactive member of a service organization. In fact, most officers remarked that they never realized the extent to which they would be "married to the radio" until they had worked the "street" for several weeks. Reiss (1971) summarized the crucial answer to the question "what do the police do" in the following manner:

> "We estimate that, of the total hours cars were assigned to duty, only 14 percent of the time was spent on dispatch, leaving 86 percent of the time for routine preventative patrol. Actually, less than 1 percent of the time on patrol is spent in handling on-view matters. And only 1 percent of the time on routine preventative patrol is spent handling criminal and non-criminal incidents. Overall, 99 percent of the time in preventative patrol nets no criminal or non-criminal incidents." (p 95)

Importantly, of the 14 percent of the time spent on dispatched calls, only about 20 percent of those were classified as criminal incidents (Reiss, 1971, p. 95). Without doubt, the patrolman's task is more often wearisome and tedious than glamorous and exciting.

Yet, there is the unpredictable aspect of the occupation and this side of police work cannot be overlooked. In fact, the unexpected elements of working patrol seem to provide at least a modicum of self-esteem and stimulation for the officers. One Union City patrolman with five years experience commented succinctly on this feature. He noted:

> "Most of the time being a cop is the dullest job in the world . . . what we do is pretty far away from the stuff you see on Dragnet or Adam 12 . . . but what I like about the job is that you never know what's gonna happen out there. For instance, me and my partner will be working a late Sunday shift in the north end and expecting everything to be real peaceful and quiet, then, all of a sudden, Hell breaks loose . . . Even on the quietest night something interesting usually happens."

Again, Reiss (1971) noted perceptually the "atypical routine" enjoyed by patrolmen. After examining the police "straight eight" -- the tour of duty -- he stated:

> "No tour of duty is typical except in the sense that the modal tour of duty does not involve the arrest of a person." (p. 19)

In my opinion, the unpredictable aspect of patrol work has too often been understated or disregarded by students of police behavior. To classify the police task as mundane and monotonous ignores the psychological omnipresence of the potential "good pinch". In large measure, the policeman's opportunity to exercise "heroically" his perceived police abilities gives meaning to his occupational role regardless of the infrequency of such opportunities. Operationally, this does not imply the patrolmen are always alert and working hard to make the "good pinch". Rather, it suggests simply that the unexpected is one of the few aspects of the job that helps maintain a patrolman's self-image of performing an important task and allows for the crystallization of his personal identity as a policeman.

Still, one of the ironies of police work is that recruits were attracted to the occupation, by and large, via the unrealistic expectation that the work role would consist of self-motivating activities. However, they soon discover in most of the "real world" activities of policing that such self-motivating tasks are few and far between. Once a recruit has mastered the various technical and social skills of routine policing (e.g., "learning the district", developing a set of mutual understandings with his partner, knowing how and when to fill out the various report forms, etc.), there is little left to learn about his occupation which can be conveyed by formal or informal instruction. The recruit must then sit back and wait, absorbing the subjective side of police work and let his experiences accumulate. The wife of one recruit noted the frustrating aspect of her husband's introduction into police work. She said:

> "It seems to me that being a policeman must be very discouraging. They spend all that time teaching the men to use the gun and the club and then they make them go out and do very uninteresting work."

The crucial and definitive nature of a recruit's early career experiences as the determining factors involved in his resultant outlook and adjustment within the department is highlighted by a cursory glance at the turnover statistics for the Union City organization.[19] During an 18 month period from January, 1969 through June, 1970, 108 men separated from the department (i.e., retired, dismissed, resigned or retired-disability). Of these, 16 percent had less than one year of experience while twelve percent of the separations were recorded for those police officers with less than two years, but more than one year of experience. As expected, the largest group to leave were those officers retiring after twenty or more years of experience -- 41 percent of all separations. If one considers the less-than-two-year group and the 20-or-more-year group simultaneously, almost 70 percent of all departmental separations are accounted for. Thus, if an officer is to quit the department before retirement, he generally does so very early in his career. The data would suggest adjustment to and acceptance of the police milieu by a recruit is not a gradual process, but one of swift accomodation.[20]

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[19] The separation data were collected by this researcher via the records of the Union City Police Officer's Guild. This organization had data on every individual assigned a badge number by the Department. The separation category also included officers later re-hired by the Department. Surprisingly, 13 of the 108 separatees were rehired. It should be noted the "separatee" category did not include officers given sick leave, military leave, or any temporary leave status.

[20] As another chapter indicates, the Union City turnover situation cannot be considered unique. In fact, this "love it or leave it" phenomenon is fairly typical in many organizations (see Steers, 1971).

The relatively few dismissals recorded in the department obscures somewhat the system's acceptance of a recruit. While a recruit may resign, it does not necessarily indicate he did so without pressure. As another section illustrates, it is less a question of the recruit accepting the police system than it is a question of the police system (formal and informal) accepting him. While a "gung-ho" spirit may be tolerated initially, the data indicate the recruit must soon learn such attitudes are not long tolerated. Neiderhoffer's (1967) remarks concerning a rookie's early days in the field are revealing in this regard. He stated:

> "For a month or so, he (the recruit) receives leniency and sympathy for routine mistakes. After that he is on trial and carefully watched to see how he measures up to the challenge of patrol work. His reputation is made in the next few weeks and will shadow him for the rest of his career." (p. 55)

Therefore, the recruit is expected to learn fast or "get out" for deviations from the work ethic prevalent in the department will normally be met with rather harsh informal -- or possibly formal -- sanctions.[21]

Schein (1968a) suggested that for a newcomer to any occupation, "coping with the emotional reality of the job" was the most difficult problem to be resolved. In police work, the coping behavior would appear to consist of the

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[21] For an excellent description of the informal sanctions available to the patrolmen, see Westley, 1951, pp. 154-190.

"learning of complacency". In other words, the young patrolman discovers the most satisfying solution to the labyrinth of hierarchy, the red tape, the myriad of rules and regulations and the "dirty work" that characterizes his organization is to adopt the group norm which stresses "stay out of trouble". And the best way in which he can "stay out of trouble" is to minimize the set of activities he pursues. One Union City veteran patrolman explained:

> "The only way to survive on this job is to keep from breaking your ass. If you try too hard you're sure to get in trouble . . . either some civic-minded creep is going to get outraged and you'll wind up with another complaint in your file, or the brass will come down on you for breaking some rule or something and you get your pay docked . . ."

The above quotation suggests that disenchantment has two edges. One, the police officer's disenchantment with the general public -- which has been well-substantiated in the literature (see Chapter I); and two, the disenchantment with the police department itself. In short, a recruit begins to realize (through proverb and experience) it is his relationship with fellow officers which protects his interests and allows him to continue on the job -- without their support he would be lost.

Westley (1951) observed that the rules and regulations which typify police departmental efforts to control the behavior of their members are normally so numerous and patently unenforceable that no one will (or could) ever obey all the canons of conduct.

This situation was evidenced in Union City where, for example, patrolmen were supposedly prohibited from: smoking when in contact with the public; borrowing money from another police officer; criticizing orders from superior officers; accepting any "gratuity" regardless how small -- from either a fellow officer or a citizen; seeking "notoriety"; and so on. The result of such departmental proscriptions -- which delve deep into a patrolman's private life -- is to place the individual in great need of colleague support. An indication of the frequency in which much more serious departmental rules are violated is again provided by Reiss (1971). His team of field researchers reported that four out of every ten police officers were observed in one or more violations of the departmental rules.[22] The existence of such regulations -- associated with their widespread violation -- makes most officers extremely susceptible to departmental discipline. Hence, it should not be surprising that the Union City department -- as represented by the ranking supervisory personnel -- is viewed by the patrolmen as "punitively oriented".

In many ways, the patrolmen represent what Goffman (1959) called a "team". In Goffmanesque, a "team" is:

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[22] Serious violations of the rules were defined by the researchers to include (1) drinking and sleeping while on duty; (2) neglect of duty by unauthorized time away from duty for other than police matters; and (3) falsification of information on police matters. Reiss's data is roughly comparable to my observations on a considerably smaller number of cases (Reiss, 1971, p. 165).

> "A set of individuals whose intimate co-operation is required if a given projected definition of the situation is to be maintained." (p. 104)

Basically, the situational definition to be maintained in the patrol setting is "all-is-well-and-there-are-no-problems". Consequently, a recruit learns that to be protected from his own rule violations, he must in turn protect others. The following illustration will hopefully help to emphasize this important point.

An analysis conducted by this researcher of over 200 departmental report forms filled out by FTOs and concerned with the performance of their respective recruit-partners revealed only one instance where a negative evaluation was submitted. Uniformly, all forms were characterized by high praise for the recruit. The topics the FTOs chose to elaborate upon were typified by such areas as: the recruit's driving skill; the recruit's pleasing personality; the recruit's stable home life; and so on. The point is simply that in only one case was an FTO report filed which might result in a negative reaction from the department. It should be clear that such behavior does not pass unnoticed by the recruit. Indeed, he learns rapidly the importance and value of his "team" as well as the corresponding collective definition of the police situation. The following case study deals with the one "negative" instance (regarding FTO reports) identified in the above paragraph. It is presented here because it illustrates a number of points covered thus far in the Chapter.[23]

An example of the manner in which the "team" worked is given below. It is concerned with an incident which occurred to a recruit during his first tour of duty on the "street". The material is quoted from this researcher's field notes:

> ". . . approximately 12:30 that night we were requested by another unit to meet at the corner of 1st and Main. The other unit was working an adjacent district and the officer driving was apparently 'solo' . . . He parked the 'black-and-white' in an alley and walked over the driver's side of our unit. Talking to the FTO, he stated that a ticket he had just written -- involving some 'obnoxious little niggers' -- might not 'stand-up' unless he had some collaborating signatures . . . Both the FTO and the recruit signed the ticket (with the FTO signing first and then handing the clipboard to the recruit) . . . at no time did we observe the reputed offenders. The 'solo' officer told us that he would explain the 'essentials' of the situation later." (October 23, 1970)

While this is only one of six similar incidents observed by this researcher (i.e., falsification of information), it is notable because it occurred during the recruit's first night

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[23] The report forms which provided the data for the above analysis were distributed weekly to each FTO. Two hundred three completed forms were returned to the Training Division -- about 83%. These reports were traditional features of the recruit socialization process in Union City. In the one atypical case (see next page) the set of report forms and memos track certain factors which lead to a recruit's dismissal (formally denoted as a "resignation") from the force.

A CASE STUDY: RECRUIT SMITH

In the one atypical case, the following set of report forms and memos track certain factors which led to a recruit's dismissal (formally denoted as a "resignation") from the force.

FIELD TRAINING OFFICERS' WEEKLY PROGRESS REPORT (Abstracts)

Week 1:	"This report can't be given much credence. The recruit has been with me only two days."
Week 2:	"Cooperation, loyalty and judgement marked low specifically because of one instance where he froze while I was making an arrest resulting in minor injury to myself. Recruit seems unable to apply any of the skills taught in the Academy."
Week 3:	"Recruit has shown improvement this week."
Week 4:	"Recruit resigned."

INTRADEPARTMENTAL COMMUNICATIONS (Following incident in Week 2)

To: Major (Patrol Division)
From: Captain
Subject: Recruit Smith

"Officer Smith was assigned to me October __ from the Academy. I understand he had difficulty getting through and was considered a marginal recruit. You may note that his FTO reports are very unsatisfactory. There is no conflict in personalities between the FTO and the recruit."

To: To Whom It May Concern
From: Training Staff Officer
Subject: Recruit Smith

"The fact that Smith was not cut out to be a policeman was obvious early in basic training. I have nothing more concrete than my opinion (after 5 years experience, 1 year in training). After having almost daily contact with Smith, he regularly displayed immaturity when he spoke, seemed to lack confidence beyond the norm, and showed poor judgment while operating a city vehicle."

CASE STUDY: RECRUIT SMITH (Continued)

To: Patrol Sergeant
From: Recruit Smith's FTO
Subject: Recruit Smith

"Recruit Smith has been inadequate in almost every aspect of patrol. He seems to lack the bearing and common sense necessary to become a police officer. He hasn't shown much of anything learned in the Academy. I have to re-write just about every report he has written. Lack of maturity is the biggest obstacle. He has also had big personal problems with his Vietnamese wife. She has been in the hospital with mental problems since she arrived. Smith has decided to send her back to Vietnam.

Recruit Smith finished the Academy phase of training ranked approximately at the midpoint of his graduating class on the academic scale. His "firing range" scores were above average. However, he was exceedingly unpopular with his classmates and received the "Ass-hole-of-the-Week" award five of the ten weeks it was given (i.e., the award was given to a recruit in each Academy class once a week -- by class vote). Ostensibly, the "Ass-hole" was the recruit who had made the most obvious mistake during training -- such as: forgetting his gun or hat; being caught speeding to or from the Academy; allowing his shotgun to accidentally fire while inside a "range" building; etc.). The point here is simply that the recruit was dismissed for his inability to get along with his fellow patrolmen, not for any of the ex-post-facto rationales used to justify his forced resignation.

on the "street". It would seem that by increasing the recruit's vulnerability to sanction, the importance and worth of the "team" is made quite salient to the newcomer. Clearly, had the recruit refused to sign the citation, he would have encountered difficulties with his FTO (who signed first) and probably other patrolmen. In most respects, the act of signing represented a behavioral commitment to one's fellow officers.

To summarize, the adjustment of a newcomer to the police milieu is one which follows the "line of least resistance". By becoming similar in attitudes and behavior to his peers, the recruit avoids censure by the department, his supervisor and, most important, his "brother officers". To some recruits, this solution is relatively satisfying, to others, it is not. However, it is clear that the police system does enact major changes upon virtually all who enter.

To what attitude pattern is the recruit expected to conform? In the area of motivation, it appears after five months on the job the only activity in which the patrolmen perceive any substantial likelihood of receiving valued rewards is through their field investigation tasks. Within the context of this study, field investigation activities were defined as "those activities which would usually result in an arrest." In line with the preceding discussion, it is precisely these activities which account for the smallest amount of the patrolman's time. Service and administrative activities -- which have been shown to account for the largest amount of working time -- were viewed in this "final perspective" as the areas in which "working especially hard" was least likely to lead to favorable rewards. Community relations and self-development activities -- originally relatively high -- plunged downward across time and approached the low level of path-goal probability established for service and administrative activities.

What seems to account for this motivational pattern would be a peculiar intradependent combination of: (1) punishment-centered and particularistic supervision concerned primarily with "mistakes" made by patrolmen; (2) institutionalized external rewards having nothing whatsoever to do with the everyday world of policing; (3) perceived public antagonism toward the police; (4) a subcultural ethos stressing the "keep a low profile" dictum; (5) an internalized perception of "real police work" consisting of only preventing "crime" and apprehending "criminals" or, to put it in the everyday vernacular of patrolmen, "preventing the assholes from taking over the city"; and (6) conflicting role demands placed on patrolmen in which successful or good performance is viewed differentially by the various audiences which witness police work.

To some degree, the above factors have all been commented upon previously in the literature. What this research adds to the above picture [illegible] that these features reduce the officers' motivation not because the police learn to discount the rewards attached to the various outcomes, but rather because the patrolmen see little probability of achieving these rewards in their situation. The logical situational solution is for the officers to organize their activities in such a way that there is little likelihood of their being sanctioned from any of their audiences. Clearly, the low visibility of the patrolman's role allows for such a response. This pervasive adjustment is epitomized in the "lie low" suggestion so frequently heard inside the Union City Police Department. That the supervisors tend to rank favorably the recruits expressing the most conforming attitudes (vis-a-vis the experienced officers) demonstrates the utility of lowering one's motivational attitudes.

In terms of expressed organizational commitment, much the same declining pattern is visible. This apparently coincides with the systematic disenchantment felt by the recruits regarding the organization's ability to occupy a meaningful supportive position in the everyday world of the patrolmen. The fact that declining commitment attitudes do not lead to a higher turnover rate in the department can be attributed partially to the occupational base of the officers' commitment. There is a considerable "sunk-cost" in a recruit's five month Union City career -- he has served part of his probationary period, completed the Academy, formed certain attachments and friendships with others on the department, and familiarized himself with various aspects of the organization's operations. To leave Union City for another police organization which the recruit believes would mirror the characteristics of his present department is viewed as a general waste of time.[24] Furthermore, while commitment declines relative to the entering attitudes, the patrolmen -- even at the lowest absolute point (five years) -- still display a positive orientation toward the department. As the succeeding chapters will indicate, the police occupation (as represented by the Union City sample) is characterized by greater organizational commitment than a number of other studied occupations.

As one would expect, the commitment attitudes are most important -- in terms of the superior's evaluations -- during the early days in the field. Organizational commitment appears to be unrelated to one's evaluation at a later period, although commitment is still apparent. It seems reasonable to assume that supervision is most concerned with a patrolman's observed and reported commitment only when he first enters the "street" setting. In later periods of a patrolman's career, this aspect is probably taken for granted since the person has already demonstrated his commitment behaviorally by remaining with the department and enduring the requisite induction processes.

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[24] Those officers in this sample who had worked previously for another police organization gave particularly idiosyncratic responses when quizzed about the reasons they had for leaving their former departments. For example, one officer wanted to be closer to his family. Another wanted to be in Union City because of the ready access to recreational facilities. Significantly, none of the officers (N = 16) gave an organizationally-relevant response as the major reason for seeking employment in Union City (i.e., a response which featured a positive evaluation of the organizational characteristics of the Union City Police Department -- such as the pay, supervision or, more generally, that it was a "good department"). The admittedly subjective view of this researcher is that the recruits wanted to be in Union City for personal, non-occupational reasons. Their *a priori* knowledge of the department was scanty, and usually based on second-hand knowledge. Furthermore, over fifty percent of these "recruit" patrolmen applied to other local police departments before taking the Union City job.

The increasing amount of satisfaction reported by the recruits implies that once "on the street", the men find the occupation rewarding. However, the relatively high satisfaction expressed by the newcomers is short lived. The data indicate that by the second year in the department, the patrolmen express considerably more dissatisfaction and less fulfillment of needs. These attitudes can be attributed to the dissatisfaction expressed in the relative level of fulfillment with the esteem, security and autonomy needs. As expected, the police occupation apparently offers one the most opportunity to satisfy the social and self-actualization needs. This finding would seem to be consistent with a picture of patrol work as embodying intense social bonds and providing predominantly personal satisfactions -- involving subjective feelings of performing an important and worthwhile task. The fact that esteem needs are seen as considerably unfulfilled would indicate the patrolmen do not perceive others as recognizing the worth of their occupation.

On the surface, the dissatisfaction reported by the patrolmen with the degree to which their autonomy needs are fulfilled would seem to contradict much of the literature which portrays the patrolman's task as requiring an inordinate amount of discretion in the field. However, this difference is probably more artificial than real. Most patrolmen feel "handcuffed" or constrained by a wide variety of audiences - including their own department. As noted, the recruit soon perceives that the independence he once thought would characterize the job is limited in far too many ways.

The relationship among the supervisor's evaluations and the job satisfaction attitudes suggests that those officers who are relatively more satisfied with their jobs are likely to be ranked as better policemen (i.e., from the standpoint of their effort and performance) than those recruits who were relatively dissatisfied. Furthermore, those patrolmen to whom needs were satisfied, were likely to place less importance on those needs than the more dissatisfied patrolmen. Thus, the implication is clear. Those officers who "hang loose" and don't expect too much are the more successful policemen from the department's perspective.[25]

The attitudes discussed above will be further scrutinized in the following chapter. However, the overall picture gained in this research would indicate that the following bit of advice given to a Union City recruit by his FTO represents a very astute analysis of how to insure continuance in the department. He stated:

> "There's two things I always tell the new guys coming on the force. First, I tell 'em to forget everything they've learned in the Academy 'cause this is where you'll learn to be a cop; and second, I tell them that being first don't mean shit around here except a headache. Take it easy, that's our motto."

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[25] This characterization of a recruit socialization ignores deviant cases. Most certainly, a few recruits avoided the systematic outcomes which define the process generally. However, the purpose here was to describe the more salient features of the patrolman's initiation period and to point out the "modal" recruit response to these features. Wambaugh (1972) -- in his fictionalized account of Bumper Morgan, a veteran Los Angeles beatcop -- provides an appropriate comment regarding differential responses to the police milieu. While this example deals with the "stickman" philosophy to policing, it illuminates the "either-or" adjustment tendency as well as pointing out the relatively low probability that a recruit will reject the team's definition of his role.

> "I'd always tried to teach young cops that you can't be a varsity letterman when you deal with those barfbags. Or rather, you could be, and you'd probably be the one who became captain or Chief of Police or something, but you can bet there'd always have to be guys like me out on the street to make them look good up there in that ivory tower . . ." (The Blue Knight, p. 68).

CHAPTER V

CONSIDERATIONS, LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS

This chapter attempts to gain closure on the concerns involved in this study by examining further the results presented in Chapter III in terms of: (1) variable-specific findings reported in studies of other organizations; (2) the tenets of the Porter-Lawler (1968) expectancy model; (3) methodological difficulties encountered in this research; and (4) suggested avenues for future examination. While these considerations are somewhat independent, they do share a common bond in that each area broadly investigates issues involved with the generalization of the study results.

A. Representative Nature of the Findings

In this brief section, an attempt is made to place the Union City findings within an expanded context involving several other occupations. As a later portion of this chapter indicates, serious methodological questions are involved when data originating from only one organization provide the empirical base for conclusions thought to have wider implications. Essentially, the extent to which case study connotations may be avoided depends upon:

(1) the representativeness of the study results vis-a-vis general findings based upon "comparable other" organizations -- in this case, other police departments; and (2) the availability of variable-specific data to which occupational or organizational contrasts may be made. As noted, the results of this study are roughly consistent with the more general empirical work to date concerned with police organizations. Hence, the following section is devoted primarily to the examination of cross-organizational comparisons among the variables of interest in this study.

The inappropriateness of the norm groups is recognized. The data are presented to enable only the most tenuous comparisons. However, such comparisons are felt to establish a somewhat stronger position concerning the validity of the measuring instruments used in this study -- in the sense that the operational definitions of the variables examined in this research were able to discriminate different attitude patterns among varied work settings.

As in Chapter IV, the following discussion does not refer to the statistical significance of the differences among comparison groups. The purpose here is merely to provide the reader with a feel for the nature of the Union City data by pointing out any consistencies or inconsistencies it appears to have with similar data drawn from other occupational samples. Furthermore, the exploratory purpose of this research, as well as the inappropriateness of the comparative samples, restrict the usefulness of tests for statistical significance. Thus, it is to the more general attitude patterns or "themes" found in other research that this section is devoted.

Motivational Attitudes

It was noted in Chapter II that the motivational-force instrument used in this study was a unique questionnaire incorporating the "activity space" of the police occupation. Hence, it is impossible to compare strictly the results of this research with findings in other studies. However, since the instrument was based upon the expectancy model of motivation and was patterned after another questionnaire used in two other organizational studies -- concerned, at least partially, with socialization processes -- some interesting comparative observations can be made here.

In general, the pattern of motivational attitudes observed among police recruits (i.e., dropping from high to low over the early career period) is comparable with the results of one study and in marked contrast with the findings of the other. In the first case, Porter, Van Maanen and Crampon (1971) found that among newly-recruited engineers in a large manufacturing concern, motivational attitudes dropped consistently and significantly over the period representing the first 12 months on the job. Furthermore, the drop was attributed primarily to a change in expectancies (i.e., instrumentalities) rather than values (i.e., desirabilities of the various rewards). The authors noted the drop set in almost immediately and continued steadily through the first six months. However, the declining pattern leveled off by the end of the first year. Among the tentative conclusions reached in this study was that the company's relative lack of attention to providing supportive experiences (i.e., supportive from the standpoint of reinforcing the motivational beliefs held by the newhires at entrance) accounted for the decline. In terms of job behavior, this study reported "modest" support for the theoretical position which hypothesizes a positive association between motivational attitudes and job performance.[1]

The other longitudinal study -- utilizing an identical questionnaire as the above research -- was concerned with management trainees in a large retailing concern (Porter and Smith, 1972). Here, the motivational attitudes of the newcomers to the organization increased over time. In fact, the results indicated that the motivational scores which represented day one of employment for the trainees were the lowest scores recorded during the entire 15-month period monitored by the researchers. The authors in explaining the attitude disposition of the sample noted the existence of a carefully planned and executed training program designed to integrate and familiarize the novice with the entire organization. Porter and Smith (1972) felt that this feature probably was the major reason for the positive motivational pattern. As with the previous study, "modest" support was found for the presumed positive association between job performance and the motivational attitudes.

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[1] By "modest" support, the authors meant that the correlations among the motivational attitudes reported by members of their sample and the associated superior evaluations of job performance were consistently positive -- although the correlations rarely exceeded the .25 level.

What these studies add to the Union City portrait is a wider perspective of the development of motivational attitudes among organizational newcomers. As the second study discussed above indicated, the "reality shock" which characterizes entrance to most organizations is not necessarily associated with disenchantment or declining motivation. The fact that the motivational attitudes were only partially related to measures of job behavior further emphasizes the complex nature of the performance of individuals within organizations.

Organizational Commitment Attitudes

It was noted in Chapter II that the same commitment questionnaire used in this study has been administered across several occupations and organizations. Hence, unlike the path-goal instrument, explicit comparative observations are possible.

Figure 5-1 illustrates the commitment attitudes reported by the Union City patrolmen and commitment attitudes reported by samples representing three different occupations. The table depicts the changing attitude patterns associated with job tenure. Figure 5-2 shows the occupation distribution of organizational commitment among

FIGURE 5-1

COMPARISON OF ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT MEAN SCORES ACROSS OCCUPATIONS BY JOB TENURE.

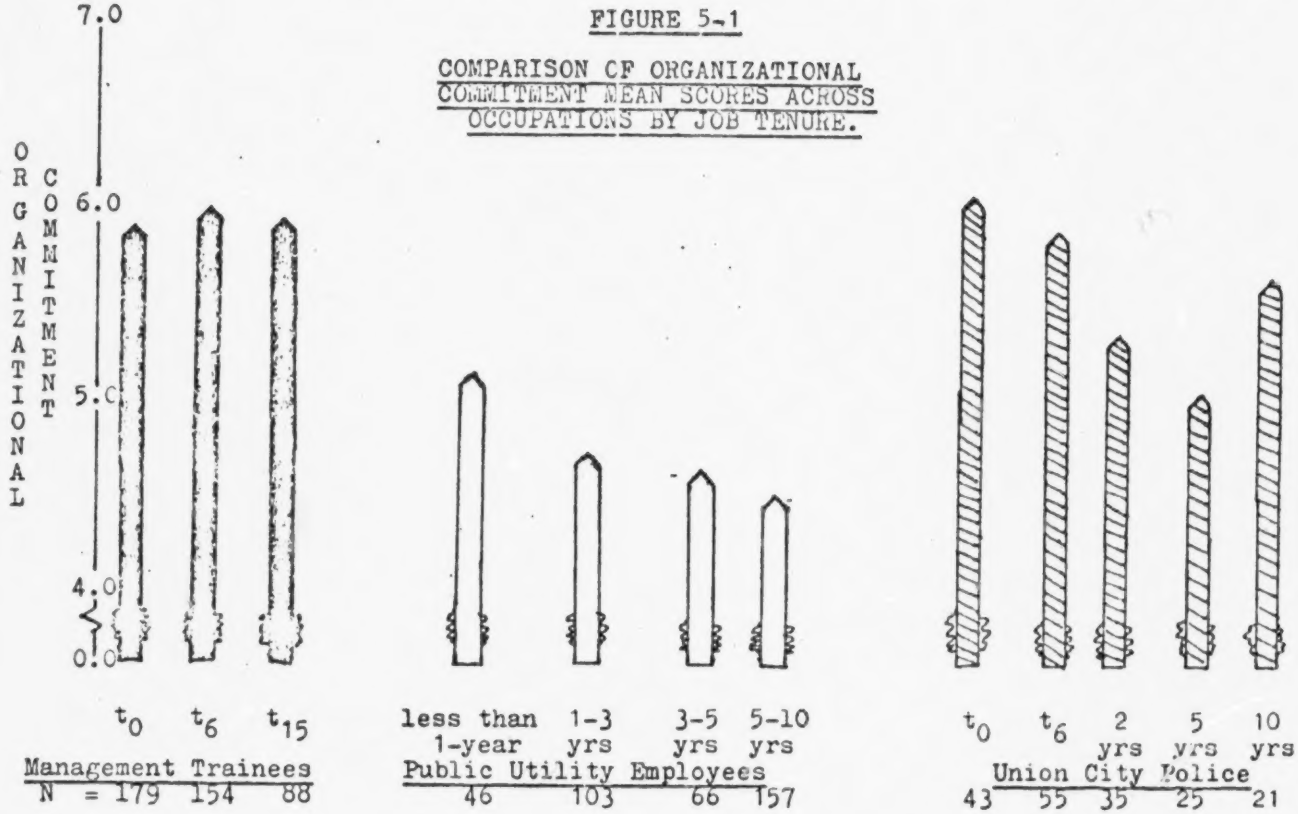

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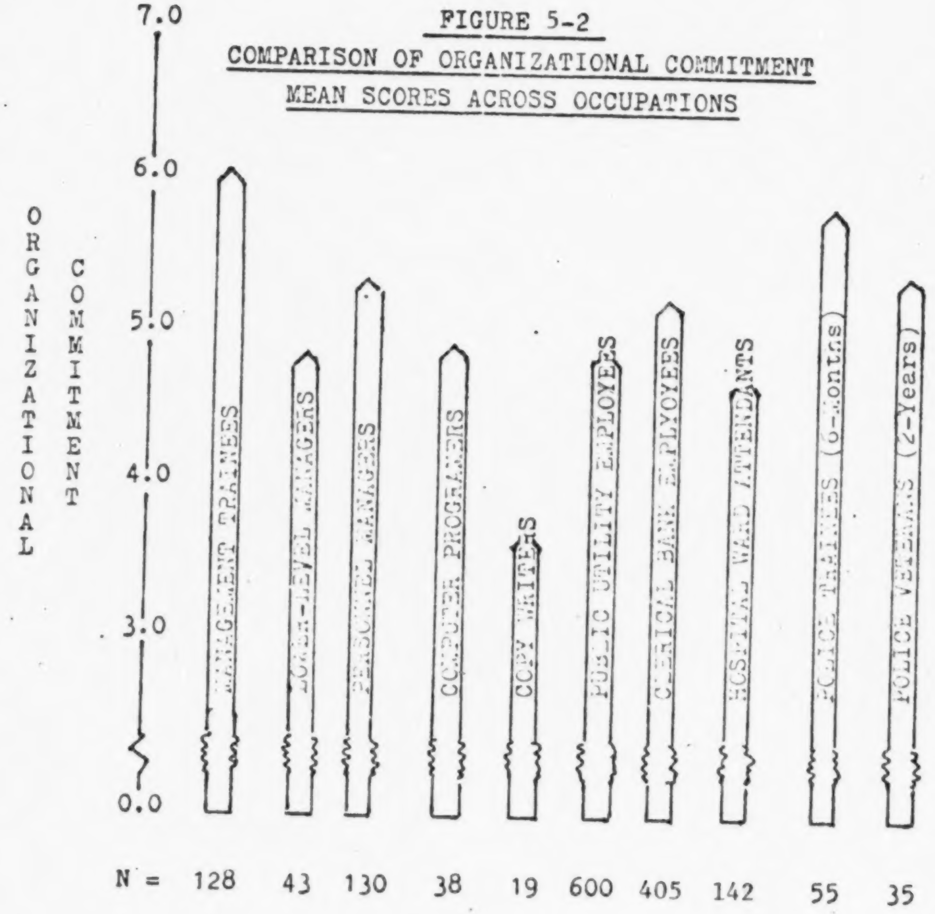
FIGURE 5-2

COMPARISON OF ORGANIZATIONAL COMMITMENT MEAN SCORES ACROSS OCCUPATIONS



among nine occupations without regard -- in most cases -- to organizational tenure.

What is of interest in both of these tables is the relatively high level of expressed organizational commitment apparent in the Union City Police sample. Furthermore, while the declining pattern is similar to the Public Utility sample in Figure 5-1 -- a somewhat comparable occupation to police work in terms of both the stable "lifetime-career" aspects and the general demographic characteristics of those selected into the occupation -- the police are noticeably more committed to their organization. Additionally, Figure 5-2 shows the strong level of organizational commitment demonstrated by police vis-a-vis the eight other occupations.

The only comparative occupation in which correlations between organizational commitment and superiors' ratings of job performance were available was the study dealing with management trainees (Porter and Smith, 1972). In this examination, the authors reported a positive and significant relationship between the two variables.[2]

While the cross-organizational comparisons are only suggestive, they do depict the police as highly attached to their Department. Essentially, this finding is in accord with my field observations.

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[2] The authors reported that correlations were "typically around .20" during the first 12-months -- commitment attitudes were monitored at day one, 2-weeks, 2-months, 4-months, 6-months, 9-months and 12-months. Superior ratings were obtained from the trainees' supervisors at 3-months, 6-months, 9-months, and 12-months.

For example, some "bitching" among fellow-officers about the department is permissible, but to discuss such matters with "civilians" is reprehensible. To "outsiders", the Department is always presented auspiciously. To some degree, this institutional rule is a corollary of the "no-snitch" dictum. However, to be committed to the organization is virtually an occupational requirement for police work. Those who do not demonstrate this characteristic both attitudinally and behaviorally will likely find themselves ostracized within the Department or perhaps more drastically, pressured to resign. As one veteran patrolman in Union City told this researcher:

> "Either you like this department or you don't... If you don't like it, get out. We've got it bad enough without guy's going around bad-mouthing the organization. Sure, there's some things I don't like around here, but do you think I'd of stuck it out for five years if I wasn't proud to be a cop in this town? I think everybody around here feels pretty much the same way I do ..."

Consequently, the high level of organizational commitment which characterizes the Union City Department may help to explain the low turnover, intraorganizational solidarity and the strong career bonds typifing police organizations generally.

Job Satisfaction Attitudes

As noted, the need satisfaction instrument used in this study was -- for all intended purposes -- identical to a questionnaire administered in several other studies (see Chapter II. Furthermore, the need satisfaction instrument has been used in a study of another police department (Lefkowitz, 1971).[3] While none of these comparative studies were conducted on a longitudinal basis, interest here lies primarily in contrasting different patterns of job satisfaction attitudes. Since the subjects in the other studies were all organizational veterans of varying tenure, only the Union City results representing all experienced groups (combining the 2, 5 and 10 year sample groups) and the six-month experienced recruit sample are considered in the comparisons. Figures 5-3 and 5-4 illustrate the comparative findings.

Regarding need fulfillment (Figure 5-3), the attitude pattern expressed by the Union City veteran officers compares favorably with the reported need fulfillment attitudes in two other organizations -- the armed service organization and the other police department.[4] Although the absolute levels are different, the same pattern of need fulfillment emerges. In one case, the military subjects appear slightly more fulfilled in most areas, yet they follow approximately the same need fulfillment distribution (i.e., regarding the fulfillment of each need separately) as the Union City veteran officers. In the other case, while the distribution reported by the Dayton

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[3] The Dayton, Ohio Police Department was the subject organization for Lefkowitz's (1971) study. The Dayton Police Department has an approximate strength of 425 sworn officers. The sample consisted of 312 subjects, of which over eighty-percent were patrolmen.

[4] The military data comes from a study conducted by Porter and Mitchell (1967). The data which are used here comes from 231 staff-sergeants in the United States Air Force.

FIGURE 5-3

COMPARISON OF NEED FULFILLMENT ATTITUDES ACROSS OCCUPATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS

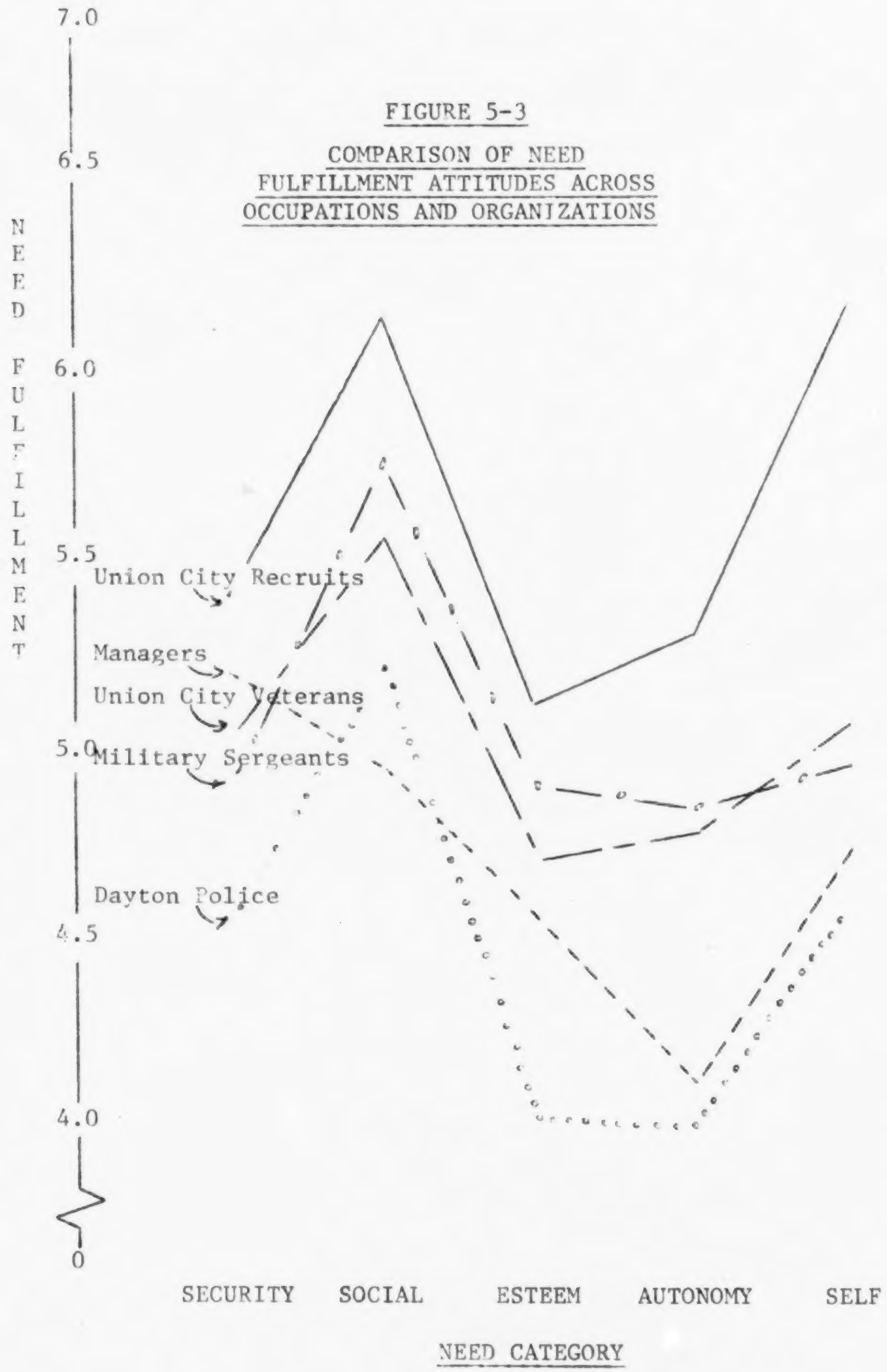
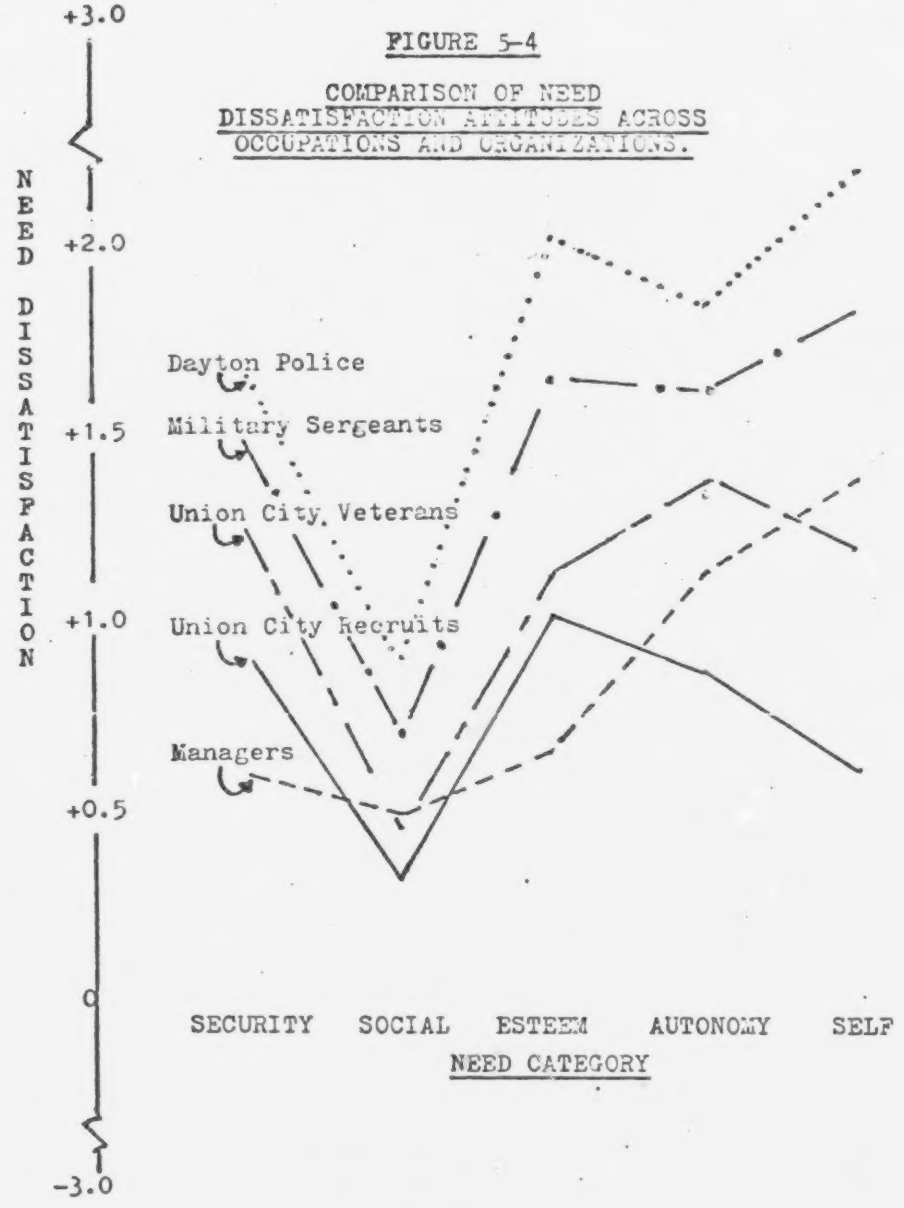


FIGURE 5-4

COMPARISON OF NEED DISSATISFACTION ATTITUDES ACROSS OCCUPATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS.



Police is similar to the Union City distribution, the expressed level of fulfillment is somewhat lower than the Union City level. Significantly, all three samples reported most fulfillment in the social need category. Apparently, the major discrepency between the two police samples and the military sample is the relative positioning of the autonomy and esteem needs. Both police samples reported that the esteem and autonomy areas were the least fulfilled vis-a-vis the other needs.

On the other hand, the managerial sample shown in Figure 5-3 shows a "declining pattern" of need fulfillment (i.e., relatively high fulfillment in the lower-order needs to lower levels of fulfillment in the higher-order needs) except for a small jump in fulfillment in the self-actualization area.[5] The comparison suggests that managers are able to experience more fulfillment of the security needs, yet less fulfillment of their social needs than police generally. However, the managerial sample falls between the fulfillment levels reported by the two police samples when the higher-order needs are considered.

Of particular interest in Figure 5-3 is the extremely high level of need fulfillment expressed by the Union City recruits who had spent only six months on the job. In all areas, this group of newcomers exceeded the other comparison groups. Furthermore, the high level of fulfillment in the self-actualization need category would again suggest that the personal and involving characteristics of a recruit's early career provide for considerable need fulfillment.

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[5] Data for the managerial sample comes from a study conducted by Porter and Lawler (1968). The 260 subjects represent a cross-section of managers from civil service divisions of state governments, private manufacturing and privately-owned utility companies.

As Figure 5-4 illustrates, the dissatisfactions expressed by both the military and the police groups follow generally the same response pattern.[6] However, the Dayton Police sample, unlike the military and the Union City sample, expressed somewhat less dissatisfaction with the degree to which their security needs were satisfied relative to their other needs -- particularly the higher-ordered needs.

The only study -- aside from the Union City research -- in which a correlational examination between job satisfaction attitudes and independent judgements of job performance was conducted was the Porter and Lawler (1968) managerial study. Similar to the Union City findings, managerial performance was associated in a positive direction with expressed job satisfaction.

Finally, some mention should be given to the apparent discrepancies between the levels the Dayton Police sample reported regarding need fulfillment and dissatisfaction and the levels the Union City sample expressed in these attitude categories. On the surface, it appears as if the Dayton Police are less satisfied and less fulfilled than their Union City counterparts. While it can not be demonstrated conclusively, it seems to this researcher that this conclusion would not be fully warranted for two reasons. First, Lefkowitz (1971) reports that the average officer in his sample had been on the force for 11.4 years. This is in marked contrast to the Union City sample of experienced officers which had an average tenure of just under 5 years. Hence, the extra 6 or so years the Dayton officer had spent with the Department may well account for the observed differences. Second, Lefkowitz (1971) reported almost an 80-percent rate-of-return with his sample, whereas, in Union City, only 54-percent of the experienced officers returned the questionnaire. It would seem that the question of self-selection (i.e., with the more satisfied officers in Union City being more likely to return the questionnaire) can not be overruled. At any rate, the question as to whether or not the attitude discrepancies reflect real organizational differences can not be answered in a definitive manner here. However, the observed differences do suggest a fruitful topic for further research.

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[6] Comparison data were not available concerning the need importance factor involved in the questionnaire.

B. Recruit Socialization: The Expectancy Model

As discussed previously, the purpose of this research was not to test the efficacy of the expectancy model. Rather, the theoretical paradigm was viewed as providing a useful way of thinking about the multifaceted aspects of human behavior in organizational settings. However, in light of the somewhat surprising results, a further examination and interpretation of the model is presented below -- as viewed through the more general findings of this research.

To review, the expectancy model suggests that an individual within an organization will work hard to the extent he perceives his effort leading to the attainment of one or more personal goals. For example, if a worker views high productivity as a path leading to, say, higher pay and higher pay is an important objective for that worker, he will tend to be a high producer. In general, the more effort exerted by the individual, the better his performance -- as viewed by both the organization (i.e., relevant superiors) and himself. However, the link between effort and performance may be modified by both the individual's role perceptions concerning his organizational mission and the person's cluster of abilities and traits relevant for his organizational task. Hence, the model hinges upon the perceptual-situational association between performance and rewards. To the degree that the individual perceives that he is, in fact, receiving rewards -- which are valuable and equitable to him -- the person will tend to feel satisfied with his work.

How does this model fit when applied to the Union City results? No simple answer will suffice; however, it does appear plausible that the studied environment represents a somewhat unique situation -- one in which the above process model must be seen as truncated. Essentially, the data would seem to support the model to the extent that few perceptual linkages exist between effort and performance and between performance and rewards. Basically, the police milieu is such that a patrolman's level of effort (or performance) on the vast majority of his everyday tasks is not related in any meaningful manner to the available intrinsic or extrinsic rewards.

In part, this situation arises because of the difficulty involved for the patrolman (and the department) to evaluate the quality -- or even the appropriateness -- of his performance in most situations. Furthermore, as Chapter 6 suggested, this conceptual discontinuity arises through the recruit socialization process which transmits an "activity specific" definition of the police task. Activities not considered by the socializing agents to be part of the "police work" bundle are not likely to be viewed by the recruits as providing meaningful rewards. This seems to create a situation in which intrinsic rewards are tied to relatively rare occurrences. In short, all activities, events and situations in the police world are viewed in light of the opportunity they may provide the patrolman to perform "real police work".

It has already been noted that most extrinsic rewards in the police setting are tied to factors having little or nothing to do with the patrolman's effort or performance on the job -- promotion, pay, etc. Furthermore, the extrinsic rewards that infrequently are available to a patrolman -- departmental commendations, favorable publicity and the like -- arise normally from a performance specifically defined as "good police work" (e.g., the isolated "good pinch", saving a life, etc.). As with the intrinsic rewards, the recruit soon learns that only a small number of tasks are likely to be rewarded extrinsically.[7]

Importantly, the only extrinsic reward continuously available in the world of patrolmen revolves around the social features of the occupation -- fellowship with one's colleagues. Since these social rewards are contingent upon the individual's acceptance of the prevailing work ethic of his co-workers, it is little wonder that the novice patrolman quickly recognizes that in only a few narrowly-construed activities will his effort result in the obtainment of valued rewards.

Georgopoulous, Mahoney and Jones (1957), in a pioneering attempt to utilize expectancy theory to predict job performance noted that such an approach "deliberately emphasizes the role of the rational aspects in human behavior." They stated:

> "... only a modest portion of the variance in productivity was explained in path-goal terms

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[7] The dearth of extrinsic rewards available to the "bluecoats" on the street has been commented upon by most observers of police behavior. Even in the case of the "good pinch", a patrolman is unlikely to receive any extrinsic reward. Again, Wambaugh (1972) drives this point home with startling clarity. He states:

> "Let's see somebody honor some copper because the guy made thirty good felony pinches a month for ten years and sent a couple hundred guys to San Quentin. Nobody ever gives an award to him. Even his sergeant ain't gonna appreciate that, but he'll get on his ass for not writing a traffic ticket everyday..." (p. 88 -- The Blue Knight)

> ... other social psychological variables, e.g., group norms, also have a determining influence on productivity, especially in situations where cooperative effort is essential." (Pp. 352)

The results of this study would seem to bear out the Georgopoulous *et al.*, observations. Indeed, the observational portion of the study served to emphasize the importance of cooperative behavior and noted the declining belief in the efficacy of working hard was a manifestation of the prevailing group norms.

Further support for this analysis comes from the positive correlation between judged performance and patrolman satisfaction. In general, those patrolmen who were rated as high performers also tended to be most satisfied. Yet, the negative association between motivation and judged performance strongly suggests a "blockage" in the model exists at the linkages representing the perceived distribution of rewards. Thus, the newcomer comes to believe that the rewards are not dependent upon either high levels of effort or performance and these beliefs are reinforced by the prevailing line supervision in the Department. In general, the data would suggest that effort is to be exerted only under certain conditions -- situations which are defined consensually as appropriate police endeavors.

Generally, it is felt that the model works reasonably well -- particularly if the definition of "police work" is restricted to the job dimensions deemed relevant by the practitioners of the occupation. However, as indicated, if all aspects of the policing task are considered (as defined by "what-policemen-actually-do"), the model denotes certain anomilies which seem to be unique to the police environment. Since the vast majority of police activities are rarely even remotely related to the tasks the police themselves consider to be their raison d'etre, motivation to work hard is lacking in most areas.

Some mention should be made concerning Maslow's (1954) hierarchy of needs as used in this study. As noted in Chapter I, the theory basically states that individual needs are arranged in ascending order and that higher-level needs (autonomy, esteem and self-actualization) operate only when lower-level needs (security and social) are satisfied. Some evidence (although predominantly anecdotal) supports Maslow's main point -- lower-level needs must be satisfied before higher-level needs become important (Alderfer, 1969; 1966). Yet, as Lawler (1971) has pointed out, the evidence for the theory is not conclusive. The data from this study would suggest that certain higher-level needs (particularly self-actualization needs) do operate even though certain lower-level needs (e.g., security) needs are not satisfied. Perhaps certain physiological needs -- food, shelter, sex, etc. -- must first be satisfied before other needs become important to the individual. Yet, the subjects in this study expressed understandable dissatisfaction with the degree to which their security needs were fulfilled and, at the same time, placed great importance upon their self-actualizing needs. Hence, it would seem that the five-step hierarchy may not hold under all conditions.

To police, security needs probably represent a curious combination of both physiological and psychological factors. While certain physiological aspects are well satisfied in terms of job security, the psychological aspects -- involving the danger characteristic intrinsic in the occupation -- can never be guaranteed completely. Furthermore, the danger factor of the work setting may be an important variable related to the individual's evaluation of the challenge and importance associated with his role. By examining police work, in which life-death considerations are involved in an everyday sense, an expectation to Maslow's postulates is apparent. Security needs can be relatively unfulfilled, yet higher-order needs still emerge. This would suggest that a revision in the theory is in order. Such a revision would note that in certain situations, lower-level needs can never be fully satisfied *and that it is this characteristic of the situation which may allow for the development of certain higher-level need satisfaction*. While the general usefulness of Maslow's theory regarding the existence of needs is not questioned, the ordering of these needs perhaps depends more upon situationally-specific job features than upon hypothesized underlying need-predispositions common to all individuals.

The above description concerning the causal nature of the variables investigated in this study is highly inferential -- although it is felt that in view of the multiple methods utilized in this research the description is fairly accurate. Yet, the problems encountered during the field portion of the research, as well as the nature of the exploratory study itself, necessarily place tremendous obstacles in demonstrating conclusively the validity of the foregoing analysis. It is to a discussion of these aspects that attention is now focused.

C. Problems and Directions

It has been noted -- with almost an embarrasing frequency -- that this study was above all exploratory. The purpose essentially was to sketch out certain attitude characteristics of patrolmen in the hopes that such information would provide helpful clues toward explaining certain aspects of their associated job behavior. In light of the numerous difficulties involved in operationalizing this research -- particularly the survey phase of the study -- it is felt that the purpose was, within certain limits, accomplished. However, as detailed throughout this document, many methodological problems were encountered which impinge upon the validity of the patrolman's attitude description. This section delineates and examines some of the more salient methodological issues involved specifically in this study with attention directed toward the avoidance of such pitfalls in future police-related research.

Overriding all other issues concerned with this study is the fact that only one organization was examined. Whether or not the findings reported here represent patrolmen generally or are organizationally-specific is an issue which can not be solved at this time. As such, it represents an empirical question which awaits further investigation. However, because of the similarity of the urban patrolman's task across organizations, a study of a single department does provide, at least, a baseline for estimating the probable job-related attitudes of patrol officers. Furthermore, there seems to be some convergence among the results of this study and the more general police studies presently available in the literature -- see Chapter I. Finally, with the growth and diffusion of police technology and information, it seems clear that most large city police organizations are becoming more similar than dissimilar. For example, the number of interdepartmental programs (in-service training, crime prevention programs, etc.) is growing, the police-related literature is expanding rapidly and public concern with the quality of policing is increasing. Fundamentally, the result of such developments has been that the "professionalization" goal is accepted by most large police departments. By definition, "professional" goals seek uniformity in police behavior. It is suggested here that the concern for "professionalization" typifies most large departments in the United States and, in this sense, makes Union City more typical of other urban police departments in the country than would have been true, say, twenty years ago. Thus, these findings must be viewed in light of the apparent homogenizing forces active in the police world.

Another broad issue involved in this research concerns the effects of the so-called police "scandal" which occured in Union City during the field portion of the study. As noted, the multiple-regression analysis failed to discover major shifts in most of the expressed attitudes of the sample which could be attributed directly to the organizational disruption. Additionally, Union City does not seem to be alone in experiencing a "scandal". Within the past several years, a number of large police departments have been plagued with charges of illegal conduct on the part of some of their members. Since a number of organized and concerned groups are seeking to increase the public accountability of the police, such situations are likely to continue to arise in the future. This is not to assert that because Union City experienced a "scandal", it is a typical police department. The point is simply that Union City police do not stand alone.

The fact that some attitudes did not appear to be much affected by either the "scandal" or the resulting policy changes receives some support from Wilson's (1967) study of police morale in Chicago. Wilson (1967) found that despite "sweeping" administrative changes in the department, the morale (as gauged by attitude questionnaires) of police sergeants remained relatively unchanged. Wilson concluded that morale was determined to a major extent independently of how well the Department was run. This finding is consistent with the observation of Crozier (1964) who noted that job satisfaction is as much affected by the external status of the occupation as by the internal arrangements.

Since the police subculture -- as discussed in Chapters I and IV-- serves to insulate the line officers from the public as well as the "brass" in the department, it is not surprising that the "scandal" seemed to have little effect on two of the attitudes studied (motivation and satisfaction). Although it can not be documented properly, if anything, the "scandal" and the resulting policy changes seemed to hasten the socialization process drawing the neophyte into the subcultural web -- making it more important for the veteran patrol officers to see that the novice patrolman accept the "team's" definition of the appropriate police values, norms and behaviors.

The fact that organizational commitment was affected as a result of the policy changes in the Department does not seem to discount the validity of the above discussion. Indeed, the perceptible decrease in organizational commitment would appear to indicate a greater distrust of the Department and its policies by the patrolman than existed prior to the policy changes. Hence, the subcultural bonds may have tightened prematurely due to the situation. The classical sociological literature postulates that external pressures result in the strengthening of intragroup solidarity (Sumner, 1906; Coser, 1961). In this case, the relevant group is one's peers. The organization itself -- as represented by the "brass" -- tended to be viewed as malevolent or punitive when, during the course of the "scandal" investigation, the official reaction of the Department was to cooperate with the "outsiders" investigating the charges -- cooperate by disciplining a number of implicated officers. To the patrolmen, the Department's failure to defend the institutional values of solidarity and member support may have resulted in a weakening of the organizational commitment on the part of the patrolmen. In fact, Braeger (1969) suggested that normatively-oriented organizations (i.e., characterized by high member commitment; based upon the use of identative power as a major source of control; and serving cultural goals -- see Etzioni, 1959) are particularly vulnerable to internal conflict when the organization's official reaction to external pressures is viewed by the participants as a maintenance strategy rather than an outright defense of the organizational values.

Based upon my observations, the policy and personnel changes which occured in Union City were perceived by the patrolmen as an attempt to placate the community rather than to defend the members of the organization. Hence, it should not be surprising that a decrease in expressed organizational commitment was recorded. Yet, even after the drop in attitudes, the Union City patrolmen would still be characterized as organizationally committed compared to the other occupations represented in Figure 5-2 of this chapter. This would seem to lend further support to the general contention that regardless of public opinion and organizational malfeasence, police work is viewed by most patrolmen as a "lifetime" career and when controversy arises, the subculture acts as a buffer preventing organizational withdrawal. Finally, it would appear that since the subculture has been viewed as providing the patrolman with his sense of self-esteem, its role would become magnified in times of stress -- when the police role is subject to widespread public criticism.

Clearly, it could not be argued that the Union City data are a representative sample of police organizations or work-groups and generalizations beyond this department should be viewed with extreme caution. The difficulties reiterated here argue for future studies which replicate this research design and, at the very least, utilize data from more than one police organization.

Many of the other problems encountered in the course of this research pertain to the limited nature of the study itself. For example, the motivational questionnaire used in this study stressed the rational or cognitive side of police work -- the calculated ends-means chain. Hence, the affective side of motivation was left unexamined. Since the emotional context of a patrolman's job is unusually high, this area would be a particularly interesting avenue for future research. Specifically, police work entails a series of critical events and a mapping of novice patrolman's emotional responses to these incidents may allow for a greater understanding of the motivational pulls-and-pushes involved in police work, as well as a greater understanding of the affective side of the organizational socialization process generally.

Another related set of difficulties arising from the field study nature of this research involves the determination of causality. Although the expectancy model provided the assumptions underlying much of the discussion of the results, support for the nature of the relationships depicted in the model was almost completely inferential. For example, it was only via the participant-observation phase of this research could the seemingly incongruous finding relating low motivation to high judged-performance be incorporated within the theoretical model. Additionally, since superior ratings were collected at only one point in time, it is impossible to verify the direction of causality (e.g., that performance "causes" satisfaction) -- certainly, job behavior data needs to be determined longitudinally also.

Of equal importance is the necessity in the future to collect performance and effort data from multiple sources (e.g., self-evaluations, peer ratings, etc.) so that the reliability of such ratings may be checked.

Yet, regardless of the sophistication of either the obtained ratings or the research design itself, the generation of evidence related to the causality assumptions will be difficult to gather in the field. In short, the settings in which field studies are conducted are always susceptible to extraneous influences. Furthermore, the problems encountered in attempting to control the extraneous sources of influence are likely to destroy the naturalistic situation itself. However, some approximations may be attempted in order to check the nature of the relationships. For example, by deliberately inducing certain organizational changes and obtaining before-and-after measurements, the causal sequences may be studied. Essentially, this requires the ability to manipulate organizational variables --

which in police organizations may be very difficult to arrange.

Several specific design difficulties are worthy of mention in this section. First, the longitudinal sample composition is open to challenge. While few statistical differences were apparent among the four Academy classes, this does not necessarily mean that they were equivalent. Since each subject did not begin work in Union City simultaneously, it is clear that the research design is only quasi-longitudinal. The designation used throughout this document for the recruit sample was therefore one of convenience and approximation. However, the data indicated far more differences were present across time periods (for the combined groups) than were recorded across groups (on any particular time period). Unfortunately, such a method indeed blurs subtle distinctions among the experiences of each Academy class. For example, the "interdisciplinary" recruit class showed a consistent, although non-significant tendency to report less organizational commitment throughout this study than the other "regular" Academy classes. Perhaps, in the future, studies will be undertaken which can truly be called longitudinal and will not be forced to resort to data manipulation to approximate this condition. The main difficulties in operationalizing such a design would seem to be the relatively lengthy waiting period before the results become available and the problem of choosing the appropriate variables to study. Yet, with time, money and in light of the low turnover which characterizes police departments, the obstacles do not appear unsurmountable.

The second design problem met in this research is the composition of the experienced-officer sample. It was noted that a possible bias in the findings may have resulted from the low response rate exhibited by veteran officers to the questionnaire materials. Hence, a more adequate sampling technique is mandatory if parts of this study are to be replicated. Furthermore, it would seem logical to extend the examination further out in the patrolman's career -- 15, 20 and 25 years.

The third factor of the research design difficulties revolves around the a-priori determination of the patrolman's activity space. To a large degree, the researcher in this study placed his particular conception of the police role (i.e., the activity portion of the path-goal questionnaire) upon the sample participants. While the role was not distorted completely, it would seem crucial to let the subjects generate their own perception of their activities for the researcher rather than the other way around.[8] One unsolvable problem here, however, is that the instruments which are developed and utilized for such "unfolding" designs may be so situationally and organizationally specific that generalizations and comparative analysis become impossible.

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[8] In practice, this may be difficult. Police organizations are uniformly sensitive to "outsiders" and generally require a researcher to delineate his research questions prior to beginning a study. Thus, an "unfolding" design may be difficult to operationalize.

Finally, the difficulties involved in conducting a participant-observation study simultaneously with a questionnaire study are not superficial. Basically, the "experimenter bias" question can not be answered. It is likely that this researcher's ubiquitous presence inside the department did have an effect on the results. Yet, the directionality -- whether the situation increased the honesty of the responses or contributed to a greater aggrandizement tendancy among the subjects -- can not be determined. The only empirical fact which seems to have a pertinent bearing on this issue is that those subjects who had a personal acquaintance with this researcher were more likely to complete and return their questionnaires than were those not so acquainted. Hence, it would seem that some sort of "please-the-researcher" phenomenon may have influenced the results.

Related to the above aspect are three general observations related to the participant-observation phase of the study. First, a researcher is particularly in danger of being "conned" by the more articulate and personable subjects. For example, in this case, I was able to establish close rapport with about fifteen to twenty recruits of varied background and perceptions of their occupation. Since these men were eager subjects who could be interviewed time-and-time again, this researcher was tempted to rest with this panel. Yet, the conscientous observer must constantly make the effort to reach the more reticent and inarticulate subjects if he is to accurately describe the setting. Inevitably, such contacts are difficult and involve mutual suspicions, but they are indeed necessary.

Second, participation is likely to lead to a partisan view of the subjects -- either consciously or unconsciously. It is for this reason that as a technique for securing data, participant-observation is likely to prove wanting -- although it does lead to a far more detailed perspective of the occupational world than other methods. However, the reality of the situation is subject to conflicting interpretations and the researcher must continually shift perspectives if he is to begin to get the feel for the significant aspects of the social structure. Neither of these two above points are easy to overcome, nor can any test be devised to check on the researcher's success in overcoming them; yet, the explicit recognition of such difficulties reduces the prejudicial aspects of such conditions.

Finally, there is a pervasive tendency involved in the use of the participant-observation technique to keep expanding the scope of the research. Whereas the questionnaire aspect of the study was somewhat defined and limited, participant-observation involves all aspects of the target population's life-interests. Hence, there is a strong and insistent pull on a participant-observer to broaden his research aims. On one hand, the questionnaire portion of the study confronts empirical or testable issues. On the other hand, participant-observation necessarily involves phenomenological questions which can be answered only by the experience itself. Where one method is specific, the other is general. In this particular case, the juxtaposition of the two methods created a tremendous burden on the researcher to scrap the original aims of the study and tackle larger issues. Yet, the empirical aspects of the study acted as a check upon the inferential. In a sense, the questionnaires prohibited the researcher from straying too far afield and regulated, to some degree, the behavior of the observer. While merging of the questionnaire and experiential aspects of research is difficult, the importance of continued work in this area can not be underestimated.

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